

SCOTS COURT ARCHITECTURE OF THE EARLY 17TH CENTURY

The absentee-court architecture of Sir James Murray of
Kilbaberton, William Wallace and their circle, in the
early 17th century

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I declare that this thesis is
entirely my own work, and that no
part of it has been previously
published in the form in which it
is now presented.

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Aitheantas

M'athair:

'Tha an saoghal fhathast alainn
Ged nach eil thu ann' [S.M.G.E.]

Cuideachd, Gill agus an triuir og:
Eilidh, Niall agus Kirsty.

Taing dhaibhsean, airson gach ni.

* * *

Fhuair mi cuideachadh bho: John Dunbar, Miles
Glendinning, John Lowrey, Michael Lynch agus Ranald
MacInnes.

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ABSTRACT

The proposition is submitted that Sir James Murray of Kilbaberton, who from at least 1607 was Master of the King's Works, was an architect responsible for the design of some buildings in the major series characterised by Winton House or Heriot's Hospital. This necessarily leads to a questioning both of the traditional role of William Wallace as being the foremost architect of his time, as well as of the significance of the Mylne dynasty in this period. It is also argued that this particular 'style' of architecture was but another stage in the ongoing and changing Court architecture of the country, with origins in the earlier national tradition, whilst simultaneously introducing new ideas and providing the basis upon which the following generations were to build. Murray's role as analogous to that of the far better-known Inigo Jones in the southern part of James VI and I's newly-united kingdom is also considered, with brief comparison made between the two; and then a consideration of some buildings representative of the Court architecture of Murray's period in office, buildings both royal and non-royal. Thus, it is submitted that in James Murray, we have one of our more significant, and yet hitherto unrecognised, architects.

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Architectural historians of the last century tended to favour the study of mediaeval buildings, while those of the post-war era have tended to concentrate either on mediaeval architecture or else on the period from about the late 17th century onwards.<1> The Renaissance period, which lies between these two, has received far less attention, despite the fact that buildings of this period occupy by far the greatest number of entries in the seminal work covering the pre-18th century period, the five-volume Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland, which was produced in the 1880s by the partners of the Edinburgh architectural practice of David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross. Likewise, the same authors' three-volume The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland (1896-7) ends with what they perceive to be the end of the Gothic period.

When in 1717 Sir John Clerk of Penicuik described Sir William Bruce as the "introducer of Architecture in this country" he used the term in a narrow sense, meaning not even Italian, but what was then up-to-date and, most likely, specifically Palladian architecture.<2> He was not setting himself up as an architectural historian, but was simply commenting on the architecture of his own age in comparison with what had been built by previous generations, remarking on what he saw to be significant

progress. His words have often been interpreted too literally (or, at any rate, this presumption regarding the earlier period has long existed), as they confirm the view which is still commonly held. Thus, architecture of the preceding period is declared by implication to hold much less that is of interest, carrying therefore less potential reward from study, and this is possibly one of the reasons that Scottish architecture of the Renaissance period has till now not begun to be studied closely.<3>

But it may not be so simple as that. The argument that forms the main thrust of Beveridge and Turnbull's book The Eclipse of Scottish Culture is that historical study generally in Scotland has traditionally taken what they termed an "inferiorist" attitude.<4> Having studied the researches of Frantz Fanon,<5> and his observations on the effects of colonisation on people - how the colonised people are taught to regard the pre-colonial past as a dark age from which they were saved, brought by the coloniser into the bright light of civilisation, a process kept up until the colonised eventually admits the inferiority of his or her past - Beveridge and Turnbull saw that precisely this process has taken place in Scotland, where our history has conformed to this "inferiorist" approach first identified and published by Fanon: that is, Scotland pre-1707 was a barren desert where, at the most extreme, even the people were unpleasing to the eye:<6> then came salvation, in the form of union with England. Typical of this type of history is

H G Graham's The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, 1909, and a host of other writers on Scottish history discussed by Beveridge and Turnbull (eg Tam Dalyell; Trevor-Roper; James D Young and others) have followed this same line.

Unsurprisingly then, Ian Whyte found that the same process had taken place in the study of agricultural history;

it was believed that Scottish agriculture [after the Reformation] had stagnated and even declined... Agriculture in late 16th and seventeenth-century Scotland was largely ignored as a result. An early history of Scottish agriculture which devoted ten chapters to the achievements of monastic agriculture before leap-frogging to a panegyric on the eighteenth century improvers dismissed the period in between in a mere eight pages. [A] more recent history of Scottish farming dealt summarily with the seventeenth century in a chapter significantly titled 'Before the dawn'.

During the last few years, however, evidence began to accumulate which suggested that seventeenth-century Scottish agriculture was not as primitive and unchanging as had been believed. It even seemed that there might be a need to modify the traditional sharp contrast between the 'Agricultural Revolution' and the era of benighted ignorance which had supposedly preceded it.<7>

To the 'inferiorist' historians, Scotland in the medieval period provided substance worthy of historical study; and only became once again worthy of study after the union of 1707, when it was rescued from the darkness of what had been in the intervening period. "The seventeenth century in Scotland", wrote Stevenson, "has had few friends."<8> Stevenson argues that both Scottish nationalist and 'British nationalist' (my term, not his) historians have viewed the period with disfavour, the former because of the period being regarded as a time leading up to "that

great betrayal" of 1707, while "historians in the rival unionist tradition have agreed on the blackness of the age. For them...[this was an age]...of increasing poverty, oppression and violence".<9>

In commenting for example on a work by Philipson and Mitchison, Beveridge and Turnbull observe,

Pre-Union Scotland is sweepingly described as in 'a state of near anarchy', and described, astonishingly, as 'an unruly country'. The cultural arrogance of all of this would be remarkable enough without the knowledge that these views emerge in a continuous flow from a strata[sic] of English or anglicised academics within the country, indeed within the very universities of the culture whose history they so disdain; and...their views have been...slavishly adopted and developed by an inferiorised native intelligentsia.<10>

Dealing specifically with architecture, Beveridge and Turnbull cite the writings of Graham;

[he] has little time for the ordinary country mansion 'devoid of dignity from the floor to the corbel-stepped[sic] gable roof'. In the disappearance of the majority of seventeenth century country mansions, 'the country lost little in picturesqueness, for very many had been hopelessly commonplace, with little that was quaint...' and with little of the civilised artifice of park or garden.<11>

(It could also be noted how the term 'corbie-stepped' evidently sounded too 'Scottish' for use in academic publication; but its incorrect translation into English rendered the term meaningless.) Then afterwards,

The historian sympathises with the English traveller in passing through regions 'where the inhabitants spoke an uncouth dialect, were dressed in rags, lived in hovels, and fed on grain with which [the Englishman] fed his horses'...the perspective of civilised and rational men casting their eyes upon the aboriginal and the deformed...<12>

Graham wasn't finished. On the rural landscape, for example, even the better houses had an outlook over 'some bare and ugly moor', because (he presumed) landscape plantations came to Scotland only "after the Union, when the eyes of Scots gentlemen were opened to English ways".<13> We shall see.

Another writer on Scots baronial architecture remarked on;

The tall, ungainly corbel-stepped[sic], gable-roof buildings which served [the lairds] as homes, though lacking in comfort, were to be preferred to the wretched hostelries...<14>

Even the authoratative Professor Youngson, in his seminal The Making of Classical Edinburgh, conformed to this line, when pondering upon the splendours of that city, pointing to what he saw as

the late and sudden flowering of Scottish culture, when...a country which had done nothing up to the Eighteenth century, after the eighteenth century seemed almost to do everything"<15>

Thus, the architectural achievements of Heriot's, Falkland, Stirling, St Andrews and Hamilton, the progress of education in all our universities, musicians such as Carver, great literary men such as Dunbar, scientists or mathematicians such as Gregory or Napier, philosophers such as Mair, historians such as Buchanan and Knox, and all else that could to the inquiring outsider be regarded as eminently worthy of note - influential in a European context even - was all written off. Pre-18th century Scotland, if we are to believe Youngson et al, had a culture which amounted to "nothing". Scotland had a past

in which she could rejoice, and that line was promoted forcibly (not least because - paradoxically - there was still a natural, national pride shared by most of these authors). But this was only after she had been rescued from the darkness of independence, and therefore as a direct result of parliamentary union. Is this scholarship, or is this crude, British ascendancy politics?

On this subject, Jenny Wormald noted a paradox. On the one hand, there were the early productions of such as the Bannatyne and Maitland clubs which made source material readily available. Scotland (she observed) has, "proportionately speaking, ...an amazing quantity of historical records in print".^{<16>} On the other hand, when the historians who produced these texts wrote history, they, like their successors such as Tytler and Rait, "did so from an Anglo-centric viewpoint".^{<17>} To Wormald, this was a trend traceable to the 17th century, when King James had "tried to argue, to a hostile English parliament, that his Scottish subjects were a civilised people...", and when Scots were faced by myths such as that of a weak Scottish parliament, of the country being characterised by "an excessive and barbarous violence", and so on.^{<18>}

This imperialist - even racist - view of Scottish history was warmly embraced by Scottish historians, leading to the belief that all that was good in Scotland came both after and as a consequence of Union, or else dates from the distant medieval period: exactly the approach taken by

architectural historians, if choice of area of study can be taken as any sort of indicator – which it surely can.<19> The vacuity of this mentality has been demonstrated in the last two/three decades in the area of documentary history, with the work of people such as Brown/Wormald, Lynch, Macdougall, et al, who have made headway in countering the 'Britain more-or-less equals England' line beloved of English authors.<20> In the more specifically cultural fields, John Purser's Scotland's Music – a BBC Scotland 30-programme radio series broadcast weekly from September 9th 1991, later a best-selling and prize-winning book – has rehabilitated the music of Scotland, demonstrating that much of quality pre-dates the parliamentary union: composers such as Tobias Hume, Clerk of Penicuik and – to many historians, an eye-opener, "probably Scotland's greatest composer", Robert Carver<21> It has been noticed above that Ian Whyte has done something similar for agricultural history where precisely this same period prejudice has characterised the subject, and art historians now have Duncan MacMillan's Scottish Art 1460–1990.<22>

But architectural history has still much catching up to do: worst offenders being 'British' authors such as Morrice,<23> who regard a near-absolute lack of knowledge of this country as no handicap to writing on the whole UK, or the far more influential Summerson.<24> Remarkably, one of the most spectacular inferiorisms of recent years was by no less than the country's one-time principal inspector

of ancient monuments, Stewart Cruden: when writing of his own period (the late medieval) in his own country he declared, absolutely unnecessarily and evidently believing it to be the sort of statement to be made without need to argue the case, that "it must be acknowledged that it is an inferior architecture, the fag-end of the international medieval tradition...".^{<25>} The obvious question presents itself: "why 'must' we acknowledge that?" It is hardly the impression one forms when the architecture is compared with that of other European countries of comparable population, and certainly not the message of Dr. Mark Dilworth, in referring to the medieval architecture of Melrose, Paisley and St Andrews.^{<26>} Indeed, it is suggested below that quite the opposite is true.

In this country, one can attend a concert of music deriving from the national tradition, enjoy the experience, and regard the quality of product and of performance as splendid. No-one at the end of the performance will stand up to announce that what has just been heard is of course 'inferior'. There is a general acceptance that it is not. Yet one might visit a building which is also a product of the same national tradition, and be given to believe precisely that: if, for instance, a book such as Cruden's is bought. And yet, one would hesitate to argue that the national musical tradition is superior in any significant measure to the architectural tradition. The point is, that inferiorism, to a significant degree, still predominates in architectural

writing in Scotland, in a way that it does not in other fields.

* * *

In complete contrast to the inferiorist programme, as the quest for objectivity has replaced the imperialist urge, recent developments in the study of cultural history has presented to us a far more positive view, of a Scotland radically different from that wished upon us by the inferiorists. For it has in recent years been shown that culturally Scotland was very much abreast of the mainstream of European thought in the Renaissance period; for instance by Lynch's Scotland: A New History, MacQueen's (edited by him) Humanism in Renaissance Scotland, or Macdougall's James IV.^{<27>} Even earlier, works such as the 1950s-70s series of remarkable Innes Review articles by people such as Mgr. MacRoberts and Durkan were demonstrating this point: though as these papers, evidently, were not particularly influential upon architectural historians, their message has failed to get broadcast.^{<28>}

Within this 'new' context, in which the Renaissance period is now seen as complex and sophisticated, architectural historians can now ask questions which were not previously considered. For instance, we can ask whether in Murray's period there was a nationalist response in architecture?

For there evidently was a nationalist architecture in the 15th century which produced an exciting new architecture then,<29> and there have afterwards been several such responses through the years: from the court revival work of Robert Adam, and more obviously in the immediate post-Walter Scott era with the works of Bryce, Rothead, and others, in an age when Scotland began to re-emerge from the guise of "North Britain", when Scottish history was being celebrated in Scott's works, the Scots language in the works of Burns, and when the ancient "Honours of Scotland" were unearthed after a century's concealment and put on public display; Mons Meg was brought home, Wallace was commemorated by a huge statue at Dryburgh and by monuments at Lanark (1817) Stirling (the "National Wallace Monument"), Ayrshire, and elsewhere. There followed the later Scots baronial revival of such as Peddie and Kinnear, and at the turn of the century, Lorimer and Mackintosh each produced an architecture which they regarded as reviving elements of Scots work. Patrick Geddes, in his Evergreen Quarterly of the 1880s-90s had already written about a 'Scottish Renaissance', and the massive petition of 1901 signed by thousands of Scotsmen(!) objecting to King Edward being given his English numeral rather than his "British" one demonstrates a strength of patriotic feeling even then. Similarly, the founding in the capital city of a National Portrait Gallery, within which the country's achievers might be remembered, and their lives celebrated: the antithesis of the idea of an English burial, in Westminster Abbey, of

the nation's greatest, where previously contemporaries such as England's Admiral Lord Nelson and Scotland's Thomas Telford might both qualify for this British establishment recognition of 'greatness'. Similarly, in the inter-War period, when the Scottish National Party was formed (1934), and MacDiarmid's poetry was attracting the attention of many, the case for the "Scottish Office" having a presence in Edinburgh was accepted in London. The iconography of the three big Edinburgh public buildings of the time (St Andrews House, the National Library and the Sheriff Court) consisted of references to nationhood, with thistles, St Andrews crosses and Lions rampant used extensively. The Scottish National Trust was formed, and Lord Bute had Ian Lindsay draw up "lists" of buildings representative of vulnerable classes of our built Scottish heritage, with the purpose of identifying these for protection - they were ancient or early examples of mainly lesser Scots buildings, and on these criteria alone, judged to be of interest. Robert Hurd aimed at producing a modern architecture which was definitively "Scottish", yet simultaneously modern (an ideal he is said to have believed himself to have realised in his Jenner's Flats), while E J MacRae's work in Edinburgh evidently owed a lot to Scots buildings of an earlier age.

* * *

In light of the above, we can now consider Summerson's

contribution to architecture 1530-1707. This is contained in an appendix to a book disingenously entitled Architecture in Britain 1530-1830: 13 pages out of 611.<30> Campbell, Gibbs and Adam, and discussion of their contribution to the English national mainstream, is all absorbed within the main text, and the obvious message is that either Scottish architecture ceased to exist as a recognisable entity after 1707, or alternatively, there was a coalescence of the previously independent national styles to form, at the point of union, a new architecture which should be termed 'British' (not, of course, the case). These bald facts alone indicate a serious problem for the inquirer after objectivity, a problem compounded through the book being still used as a standard university text, both in this country, and elsewhere. Evidently, any idea of there being a Scottish architectural history became a casualty of a political agenda held by historians working towards an equalisation of the terms 'Britain' and 'England'.

Summerson knew Scotland, having taught in Edinburgh for a time. He evidently became familiar with many buildings, and he even makes some worthwhile observations. However, his text is predicated upon a view of Scotland as discussed above; where he finds 'non-Englishness', this is presented as a problem; indeed, the whole discussion is carried out against a background of English - as if to say 'real' - architecture. For Summerson, the reasons for the Scottish 'problem'

...are clear enough. Feudalism survived far longer in Scotland than in England. The central authority was weaker and the need for the defensible house remained. The Scottish Reformation came a generation later than the English; the dissolution of the monasteries was organised less systematically than under Henry VIII. Scotland, moreover, had few external cultural relationships.... Scotland, indeed, had fewer opportunities than any European country, except Ireland, for contacts with the main streams of artistic influence...<31>

And so on. Scotland is continuously talked down, in a pseudo-intellectual soup of fact, non-fact, nonsense and prejudice. We could not, in Summerson's world, expect to find much in this country to detain the scholar. James IV's works are written off in a half-sentence: harsh treatment, regardless of the book's scope, in view of its international significance, precocious Renaissance sophistication and subsequent influence upon the court architecture. Summerson recognises the importance of the south quarter courtyard front of Falkland, but then refers to "This sudden resort to French classicism in a Scotland wholly gothic in its arts..."; and then "The pioneer enterprise at Falkland...was passed by." <32>

It would of course be wrong to criticise Summerson for failing to include research not, by his time, yet done. But the mentality behind his approach, containing arguably more political English nationalist/anti-Scots propaganda than scholarship, we can and must criticise. Yet the image of a 1530s Scotland "wholly gothic in its arts" must even at the time have seemed like fantasy. Surely it would be remarkable if indeed Scottish architecture and English

architecture were to have been as one in the 16th century? Why, when the two differ, has Scotland got it wrong? And more important, surely this country - like any other state in the late medieval/ transitional/ Renaissance periods - had an architectural tradition with its own terms of reference? Is it necessary to see 16th-17th century Danish architecture in terms of Dutch, simply because (as now) the countries lie side by side? Summerson's assigning a 'backwardness' to Scots architecture is therefore now seen to be in error.

But in the face of such off-putting and demoralising propoganda, disguised, and authoratively stated as, fact, all the while promoted as 'essential' students' reading in our universities (to say nothing of universities elsewhere), small wonder that we have progressed so little in the study of our national, and our court architecture. How, for instance (by way of illustrating the problems such literature creates), can it be that the James IV triumphal-arch gateway was never recognised as such until 1991, despite all the attention given to Stirling Castle/Palace by scholars both in Ancient Monuments Branch (previously 'The Office of Works') and by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, if not because of a fixed mentality: that Scotland in the period was of necessity 'backward', that to look for sophistication would be a waste of time?<33> Reinforcing the argument that the 'Summersonian' approach actually retards progress, we can refer to his remarks on

Falkland: "The pioneer enterprise at Falkland – earlier than anything in England – was passed by." The use of derivative detailing, such as stone roundels at St Mary's College (1563), John Knox's House (pre-1573) gives the lie to this statement. But was not the general form (as distinct from ornamental detail) also used elsewhere? For how else does one interpret the elevational composition of the gallery range at Dunottar? Or the flanks of Thirlestane, previously related to Loches simply on account of both houses having semi-projecting 'rounds', because consideration of the vertically-divided long facade as derivative from Falkland was not a 'permissible' idea.<34> Might all these observations, which show the error of the above-quoted Summerson interpretation, have been made decades ago, were it not for the 'educational' process?

And then, when European scholars turn to examine 'British' histories, to inform themselves of architectural developments in the UK, they find that 'scholarship' indicates any investigation of Scotland's architecture to be a waste of time; so in consequence, people writing of the European context are unlikely to want to refer to this country; so it is simply removed from the European agenda: a self-perpetuating process.<35>

Even in works which might be regarded as 'positive' in spirit, there can be found unsubstantiated claims of a

Summersonian character: thus, in the above-mentioned Kemp & Farrow paper, we read of

...the baronial style, in which any Renaissance motifs were limited to a series of quotations within overall compositions which remained obstinately vernacular.<36>

The book's editor, a non-architectural historian - and therefore unable to do much other than accept what he read - picked up that statement, and used it as an illustration of how Kemp and Farrow's thesis is 'best summarised'.<37>

We are left wondering whether the court, or the national, architecture of any other progressive - sometimes precocious - European country of the period would be described by these authors in such terms. The issue here is a definition of the term 'vernacular', which architectural historians use to denote 'building', as opposed to 'architecture': the former being a rustic, unsophisticated primitive work, the latter denoting the opposite, and the product of learning, and of sophistication.<38> Why, if we are to accept the view that one (specifically, Scotland's) national architecture is 'vernacular', must we also accept that other national architectures are by implication, non-vernacular? Why is the continuation and development of a national tradition 'obstinate', when the nation is question is this one? Once more, the logic of this would be that for other countries to continue their own national architecture would also be 'obstinate'. But we are not being asked to believe that

other countries should be described in this way: we are instead invited to subscribe to a view of Scotland as being in some implied but unspecified way 'backward', or 'inferior'. The case has not been made to justify this sort of statement. It is an inconsistency founded not upon scholarship, but on politics, and on prejudice: the imperialist/inferiorist position noticed above.

We have seen how the above-quoted view by Kemp and Farrow (though it is important not to lose sight of the fact that their paper is overall very positive in spirit) presented by the visual arts specialists in their paper on the decorative arts, is seen to have been believed by the non-specialist - logically enough, among people trained to give way to the 'experts' - so this interpretation finds its way into the conclusion of the book, and thus, innocently, comes to represent the forefront of academic scholarship.

Against the backdrop of much new, objective scholarship undertaken by documentary historians, and the positive findings presented in such readily digestible form as found in, for instance, the above-cited Why Scottish History Matters, the modern architectural historian finds a complete new scope for interpretation of the built legacy, and one which founds upon the idea of a continuous national mainstream, or tradition.<39> In the context of what has already been termed the "twentieth century Scottish writers' search for a post-British identity", the

architectural historian can but agree that the way forward is the parallel to that set out for the student of literature by Crawford: "that there remains a great need for empirically grounded work to help free Scottish writing from the Anglocentric tones of conventional history and of newer approaches.".<40> It is in this new, and exciting spirit that this current thesis is founded, on the path so invitingly laid out by the documentary historian.

* * *

Footnotes

1. For instance, see the text of MacGibbon and Ross' five volumes of Cast. & Dom. and their three volumes of Ecclesiastical Architecture, or of the earlier volumes of PSAS, for 'medieval' bias. Compare also the 1983 Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain, Classicism in Scotland, 1670-1748 (published by the Society); the society that year met in Edinburgh, and people's interests dictated the choice of period to be examined.

2. J. Fleming, Robert Adam and his Circle (London: John Murray, 1962), p.331. By the term "architecture" Clerk appears to have used the word in the modern sense and not as Robert Adam sometimes did late in the 18th century, ie to mean the applied ornament of the Orders, on columns, aedicules etc, as used by the Palladians (rather than as used in the Mannerist or Baroque styles).

3. Medieval specialists include (alphabetically) Cruden, Fawcett, Fernie, Fisher, Pringle, and the late W D Simpson. Dunbar, and arguably Stell, are exceptions, their reputation extending into the period under consideration, and beyond. McKean and (only recently returned to this country) Campbell are others working on the Renaissance period. Specialists in the later periods are too numerous to mention here.

4. Beveridge and Turnbull, The Eclipse of Scottish Culture (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989).

5. ibid., p.5

6. ibid., p.43
7. I. Whyte, Agriculture and Society in Seventeenth Century Scotland (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979), p.2
8. D. Stevenson, 'Twilight Before night or darkness before dawn? Interpreting seventeenth-century Scotland', in R. Mitchison, ed., Why Scottish History Matters (Saltire Society, 1991), pp.37-47.
- 9 ibid., pp.37-8
10. Cited in Beveridge and Turnbull, The Eclipse of Scottish Culture, pp.28-9
11. ibid., p.32
12. Ibid., p.32
13. ibid., p.31
14. Symon, J.A., Scottish Farming Past and Present (Edinburgh, 1959), pp.105-6;
15. A. J. Youngson, The Making of Classical Edinburgh (Edinburgh University Press: 1966), quoted approvingly in preface.
16. J. Wormald (ed.), Scotland Revisited (London: a History Today book, 1991), p.9
17. ibid., p.9
18. ibid., p.9
19. As regards architecture there is a sophistication on this: for as the Bruce/Smith houses could be related to English Caroline architecture, they fell into the bracket of being rather more 'understandable' in terms of an English perception and therefore more 'accessible', or worthy of study.
20. The very idea behind production of the book entitled Why Scottish History Matters is to counter the 'British' historians outpourings which are founded upon the presumption that it does not: for instance, 'history' [in the context of Scottish schools], it is stated in the book's Introduction, 'has mainly meant English History.' [p.viii]).
21. John Purser, Scotland's Music (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1992), p.84. This assessment is not that of Purser alone: see for instance Richard Turbet, 'Scotland's Greatest Composer: an Introduction to Robert Carver (1487-1566)', in McClure and Spiller, edd., Bryght Lanternis (Aberdeen, University Press, 1989), ch.5.
22. Duncan MacMillan, Scottish Art 1460-1990 (Edinburgh:

Mainstream, 1990)

23. Richard Morrice, Stuart and Baroque, Buildings of Britain series (London, 1982)

24. John Summerson, Architecture in Britain 1530-1830 (Harmondsworth, Pelican, first pub. 1953, frequently re-printed since)

25. Stuart Cruden, Scottish Medieval Churches (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986), p.183

26. 1993 Rhind lectures (26th-28th March), held under the auspices of the Society of Antiquarians of Scotland at the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh (Abstract to be published)

27. Michael Lynch, Scotland, a New History (London: Pimlico, 1992); MacQueen, J., ed., Humanism in Renaissance Scotland (Edinburgh University Press: 1990); Norman Macdougall, James IV (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1989).

28. For instance, their underlying message of this country having had a more sophisticated past than had been previously allowed was disregarded by Cruden (as already noticed) and Fawcett, Scottish Medieval Churches (Edinburgh, 1985), and often in HMSO/ Historic Scotland Guidebooks. At Melrose, for instance, the author of Scottish Medieval Churches (1985) does not mention the exceptionally - in European terms - long west range of chapels as having that particular point of interest; and whilst he on the one hand recognises that the English king contributed significantly towards the cost of rebuilding after his army had destroyed the previous building, and recognises too a similarity with contemporary English work in the design of parts of Melrose, these facts are not presented as possibly related, preferring to speak in terms of "reliance on English architectural guidance" {p.50}; seeing no inconsistency with the contemporary rebuild at Dryburgh - which was not contributed to by England - being in Scots style.

29. Ian Campbell, Lecture delivered to Historic Scotland Inspectorate, 27th May 1993; paper submitted for publication in The Journal of Architectural Historians

30. J. Summerson, Architecture in Britain, Appendix I.

31. ibid., p.525

32. ibid., pp.527-8

33. A MacKechnie, 'Scotland's First Renaissance Building?', Welcome (Historic Scotland friends' newsletter), September 1991, p.5; RCAHMS, Inventory of Stirlingshire, vol. I, pp.179-223; HMSO/ Historic Scotland Guide Books, Stirling Castle (various issues/revisions, 1936-89)

34. A MacKechnie, In House (Historic Scotland research paper, no. 1, July 1992). Though Loches is itself a vertically-divided flat facade. Only three years following publication of Summerson's Architecture in Britain, vol. I of the Accounts (1957) also gave the lie to this line of thought: for we read there of 'Flanderis roundis and squair antik peces'; glasswork with 'antik faces' being installed in Holyrood, and payment 'to Alexander Mure for ane patrown of ane dowbill turngrece [=double turnpike staircase]', all this in 1535, ie earlier than the datestones of the Falkland work. The 'dowbill turngrece' suggests a stair such as the celebrated example at Blois: a spiral within an outer spiral: which if built, would have been remarkable. {Accounts, I, pp.190-1}

35. See for instance Nikolaus Pevsner, An Outline of European Architecture (Pelican, first published 1943, frequently re-printed and amended since); or Roy Porter and Mikulas Teich (edd.) The Renaissance in National Context (Cambridge University Press, 1992): in neither book is this country visible.

36. J. MacQueen, ed., Humanism in Renaissance Scotland (Edinburgh, 1990), p.32.

37. ibid., p.184

38. The Scottish Vernacular Buildings Working Group, and their annual publications, Vernacular Building, (published in Edinburgh by the society), deal with what is generally accepted to be 'vernacular' building, as per the definition here. See also J. Lowrey, ed., Robert Adam, Architectural Heritage IV (Edinburgh University Press: forthcoming 1993), review of Argyll 7.

39. The idea of a continuous philosophical tradition, linking Mair to Hume, forms one of the main thrusts of argument in David Allan, Virtue, Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment (Edinburgh University Press, 1993)

40. Robert Crawford, Devolving Scottish Literature (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1992), pp.10, 175

This thesis is not concerned with the early or the high renaissance periods, when in cultural terms Scotland was arguably one of the leading nations in Northern Europe: though an awareness of the character and of the significance of the 16th century court architecture was necessary in the formulation of the early 17th century court architecture, as indeed it is necessary to us for our understanding of it. Instead, this study deals with the possibly more complex 17th century, the period immediately subsequent to regnal union in 1603 until the lead into religious protest and civil unrest in the late 1630s. More specifically, attention is concentrated upon the architecture of the 1620s–30s with a whole series of sophisticated compositions and a new style of architecture introduced during the period when the office of Master of the King's Works in Scotland was held by Sir James Murray of Kilbaberton.

The proposition is put forward, and explored, whether Murray might now be regarded as an architect in something approaching the modern sense: for documentary and other evidence (examined here) suggests this to have been the case.

It is not suggested that Murray was alone in bringing about the change to a 'new' architecture, nor that all buildings which on visual grounds might be linked were

necessarily designed by him, for some architectural designs which on visual grounds might be linked to Murray might well have been realised and no doubt developed too (if not on occasion wholly composed) by others of his circle of mason/architects, carvers and craftsmen, many of whose names we also know, some of whose careers can to a limited extent be followed - men such as Wallace, Ritchie, Aytoun and Watt, of whom more below.

But it is argued that Murray must have held a key role in bringing about a change in architectural fashion, achieving new standards of composition and craftsmanship which kept Scotland abreast of mainstream European developments.

One of the primary essentials of this thesis is to note that here on the one hand emerges a new court style: and of course, these are at their best buildings of European distinction and character, evidently the products of a progressive intellectual environment and responsive architectural tradition, and which were evidently designed either by one man who influenced others, or by one group of like-thinking men; while on the other hand, we have the King's Master of Works, who has not previously been considered as being possibly the architect of buildings in this class. In considering the likelihood/unlikelihood of this, the illogicality of current scholarship can also be pointed to: for instance, in the general acceptance of the view that at Dunfermline, William Schaw, who was king's

master of works, "probably on the queen's bidding, reconstructed the upper part of the north-west tower with its spire", and that at the royal palace he "made extensive changes".^{<1>} Also, we have the thesis that Hamilton of Finnart was a major architect,^{<2>} without any proper exploration of the possibility of Murray's role having been similar.^{<3>}

This period saw a flowering of stone carving and – for the first time – Classical figurative sculpture; also (although the statistical sample of surviving/ known work may distort the picture slightly) an increased interest in the use of painted ornament, decorative ceiling plasterwork and timberwork. This high-quality work was in a sense simply a straightforward continuation of what had been before, but selecting a different series of motifs and details to conform to the latest change in fashion.

This too was the period immediately after King James had left for England, taking the royal court with him, and in a sense it is the more interesting that a new style of architecture was to emerge in Scotland which was not an English regional style, but was founded upon the Scots court architecture of the previous generation, influenced by and selecting ideas from Northern Europe and from England, while introducing more than a few new ideas of its own. Heriot's, for all its use of Northern Mannerism, could not have been built in any other country and looked as it does. For Scotland at this time was a fully

independent, participating part of the broad North European mainstream. It is only in later times, against a background of the complex political processes which Scotland has undergone, that this architecture has been variously labelled as 'Anglo-Scots', 'Flemish', 'English influenced' and 'Netherlandish', rather than its correct nomenclature: 'Scots', for where else would one describe the national architectural style of a country as being that of another country which happened to provide one of several external architectural or intellectual influences?<4> Without wishing to labour the point: we would not label contemporary French architecture "Italian".<5>

* * *

Footnotes

1. R. Fawcett, The Abbey and Palace of Dunfermline (1990), 25-6. In fact, the spire and upper part of the tower seem more likely on visual grounds to date from the 15th century, when the northwest corner was reconstructed internally to support the weight of the tower. Also, the distinctive spire profile is paralleled at St Salvator's, St Andrews. Gifford's account of Dunfermline in Fife, 175-185, is an exception in omitting any mention of Schaw in this context.

2. C. McKean, 'James Hamilton of Finnart', History Today, 43, (January 1993), pp.42-7. Note, however, that Scrymgeour of Myres was also Master of Works prior to, possibly during, and again after, Finnart's term of office.

3. For the earliest suggestion in print that Murray's role might have been as suggested here, see MacKechnie, 'The Architectural Profession', The Architecture of the Scottish Renaissance (Edinburgh, RIAS, 1990), pp.21-2. For whilst it has long been recognised that Murray designed Parliament House, the logic of that has only recently been followed through.

4. For instance, see M Lindsay, The Castles of Scotland

(London, 1986), p.390; East Lothian Courier, 5th July, 1991.

5. The term "Netherlandish" is used to denote a particular style of English architecture, but this is done in the context of it being understood that there is such a thing as English architecture. It is only on these terms that the above expressions should be used of Scots architecture.

CHAPTER 3: THE COURT ARCHITECTURE

The architecture of the Renaissance period produced for the Crown, and then for those of the nobility who chose, and could afford, to follow the fashion set by the Court was, by and large, to represent the foremost work of any given time. Public architecture, where patrons were burghs or the church, was often also of this architectural class. This court architecture then, confined at first only to royal and to a few prestigious patrons, comprised a particular series of architectural details, motifs, ideas and patterns, the product of a particular intellectual background. This was a distinctive architecture which provided the yardstick by which other work was measured, and local or provincial masons/architects would tend to produce designs deriving from the court prototypes, with greater or lesser degrees of success; as is seen in the 16th century by architecture in rural Argyll, where standing out from all else in the area is Carnasserie, one of the major monuments of the Court architecture, and also the Campbell monument at Lochgoilhead, a slightly-muddled derivative of the top-quality work.<1> Use of the same group of craftsmen to produce the best-quality work lent a geographical aspect to the Court architecture, for as the royal works were the most prestigious of all, the premier royal palaces were all in east-central Scotland, then the concentration of higher-quality court buildings were in the same area. A little more independent from the mainstream court, other regional styles emerged, best

illustrated by the western, or 'Haggs-Kenmure' group of the 1570s-90s, characterised by use of heavy dog-tooth, chequer-corbelling and cabling: owing much to the court architecture, but combining features from the court with revived early Gothic, and - still using Argyll as a mini-'case study' - seen at Dunderave, or Gylen. It was this court, and then derivative, architecture which cohered into the national architectural mainstream: or simply, 'Scots architecture'.<2> For comparison as to the eastern bias, or emphasis, note where all the royal palaces were built; or how after 1581 the 13 presbyteries officially set up as 'exemplars' were in mainly the 'Melvillian heartland of the east coast and the Lowlands'.<3>

The distinction can be made between the court architecture, which was of the continuing national mainstream, produced for crown, court and public buildings, and the various court styles, which represent the particular fashion employed within that court architecture at any given time. But the term 'court architecture' is not analagous with the national, or 'Scottish architecture', as it represented only the one facet - albeit the premier one - within the diversity of regional and other architectures which existed. Thus, buildings such as Haggs or Kenmure were of a Western school of architecture, while the near-contemporary Carnasserie, also in the West, is mainstream court style.<4>

In the same way as was most obviously seen in 19th century architecture, different architectural styles might be applied to different classes of building. For instance, Gothic (or neo-Gothic) architecture (especially, it is argued below, post-1617/8) was to carry a particular significance in ecclesiastical work, while steeples - perhaps used in the form of passage architecture - were to be important in public buildings.<5>

So, from whence came this court architecture, how did it come about and how can it be characterised? The answer to the first question appears to be that it was a coalescence of an existing tradition with external ideas - from a range of particularly North European sources such as France or England; though also Italy,<6> the various ideas handled in a particular way to produce something that was unique to this country. The process was no different from that seen in these same other countries, where, for instance, the architecture of Italy was a powerful influence upon that of France, whilst of course France's own inventiveness is well-known; or as in the case of England, where the influence of France is well-recognised: and yet it would be a daring scholar who would seek to argue that there was no such thing as 'French' or 'English' architecture<7>

One issue which James VI regarded as crucial was the determined pursuance of internal peace; and whilst care must be taken not to present too gloomy a picture of

society in earlier times, in this he probably did bring about a change in society in the course of his reign.<8> Thus, the various feuds which had been allowed to fester for generations and to get out of hand: between Johnstones and Maxwells, Cunninghames and Montgomerys, MacDonalds and MacLeans – were before the second decade of the 17th century to feature much less.<9> The nobility was fast losing its status as a military class, which brought about another problem: what emblems of status could the nobility now have? One resolution was to offer a place in the spectacular theatre of the Riding of Parliament, instituted in 1606; and then, "if anything marked out the greater nobility from the lesser it was colourful consumption..."<10> So was there found here an enhanced role for architecture? Namely, by providing extravagant exterior (and, less public, interior) ornament to the buildings of the nobility, and to their funerary memorials, all of which bespoke rank and high status, and which were in themselves like pieces of theatre.<11>

As to the character of this architecture (whilst fashions would of course change with time), the court architecture was characterised by four elements: those of continuity, juxtaposed with innovation, in a classically-based architecture that strove for monumentality. The fourth characteristic was a symbolism, or imagery. This last feature took two forms: firstly the martial symbolism seen from at least the time of James IV (for instance, on the Stirling Forework) and reproduced on non-defensive

buildings such as Heriot's. Secondly, there was Imperial symbolism, as seen with for instance the Imperial-crown spire and the triumphal arch, the latter of which was also to feature prominently, both in royal and in non-royal works.

The continuity seen in the national mainstream makes it difficult to cut in to a particular period and pronounce it to be a complete new beginning. But the 18-year captivity of James I, and the consequential lack of royal investment for these years in building, followed by the burst of activity in James' new works thereafter, provides a logical starting point.

In 1424 James I's palace of Linlithgow, together with the choir of the adjoining kirk, was burned. Rebuilding began soon thereafter, and the new palace, represented, broadly, by the existing east quarter, the first piece of royal architecture to be built for approximately a generation, was to set the standards for the next phase of the national architectural tradition.<12> For James' new palace was up-to-date European in nature, and was given a monumental-scale facade: stone-built, with massive areas of walling, openings reduced to a minimum. (Three features of course characteristic of Italian architecture, and it will be seen that other similarities between Scotland and Italy existed.) Borthwick, built after 1430, emphasised these features further: monumentality on a colossal scale, vast areas of unpierced walling carried out in graded

ashlar courses and on a symmetrical U-shaped plan.<13> Sophisticated work, built for the courtier Sir William Borthwick, which was to be emulated elsewhere. But the characteristic of monumentality in the court architecture is clearly seen.

Traditionally, the use of martial features has been interpreted as evidence that, in a manner which set this country apart from other countries, society in the late medieval/transitional/renaissance periods was particularly 'unruly'. This is the mentality that lies behind a book such as Lindsay's The Castles of Scotland, a work which regards 16th-17th domestic architecture as 'castles', even going so far as to include the palaces of Pinkie and Falkland.<14> Among architectural historians, Geoffrey Stell was arguably the first to recognise the simplistic nature of this view.<15> For it falls down in the face of the historical evidence which indicates that society in this country was not, in the context of the Europe of the age, particularly 'unruly'.<16> But as will be shown, the significance of this 'castellated' architecture is its martial symbolism: not its military capacity.

This symbolically-martial architecture has to be distinguished from real military architecture, such as the Dunbar Blockhouse or the Italian-designed Spur of 1547-50 at Edinburgh Castle. For these were veritable 'killing machines', protective fortifications built for

the defence of the realm. Similarly, creations over which the Scots had no control, such as the English fort at Eyemouth, designed by Sir Richard Lee in 1547,<17> were very real fortifications. In contrast, a building such as Huntly, Claypotts, or Gordon is simply a house in a particular style, product of the national culture.

So why the use of martial symbolism? Perhaps Mason suggests an answer when he pointed to the "martial virtues"; the "moral - or martial - qualities of...Scottish forebears" who had realised and maintained the country's freedom over the years from domination by her much larger, aggressive, neighbour.<18> For it was the "virtue" of military power that had preserved Scotland's independence, and so, logically, the emergence from an independent cultural tradition of an architecture which celebrated that virtue might have been expected: particularly if that culture was one in which symbolism was employed, as (we have seen in use of triumphal arches and imperial crown spires) was the case in this country. This, it is submitted, explains the use of bartizans and parapets as motifs on non-defensible buildings such as Edinburgh's mercat cross (which was rebuilt 1616-17).<19> And as it was, for centuries, the King of Scots who was supreme defender of Scottish independence,<20> then it was logical that royal architecture (from which of course sprang the remainder of the court architecture) should have this martial symbolism. Only after 1603 did the king's role change on

this most crucial of political issues, when as king of England, and a permanent resident there, was he to take a different view - and indeed, adopt an attitude towards Scottish independence that differed little from that which Henry VIII had adopted little over half a century earlier. This he could do in the belief that his own lineage was secure, and (perhaps) in the belief that unification of the two thrones under a Scots king was God's wish: the first of his race since the 13th century to sit upon the Stone of Scone, and to do so as a Scots king of England and of 'Britain' must indeed have seemed like God's will. The new position adopted by the Scots monarch was seen most obviously with James VI's attempted political union of 1604, and then with the - culturally - completely Anglicised monarchy (if bearer of a 'British' agenda) which followed thereafter. Thus, in the circumstances perhaps inevitably, the meaning of this martial symbolism began to diminish, if not so speedily as the monarch's wish to see an independent Scotland was to end; though as he failed to persuade the population to abandon interest in maintaining their nationality, the symbolically-martial architecture was not to disappear readily: instead, it survived as the norm until the civil wars period, but it came to feature less when building activity began to pick up after Charles II's restoration in England. At the mighty baroque palaces of Glamis (where the ancient lineage of the family is displayed by heraldry) and Drumlanrig it features prominently, while even Bruce's Dunkeld House

appears to have been given bartizans and a parapet.<21> But the Baroque was only one style in the court architecture of that period – the other, and more popular, style being the rather more Palladian which was to take root and then be exported first to England and then (with the misnomer 'English Palladianism') throughout much of Northern Europe. But after the above-mentioned Baroque houses had been built, martial symbolism was to become less popular in the face of (at first) a stream of English cultural pressure that was new, and that was by the late 19th century to have become a Niagara (compare for instance the pressures of the English 'Gothic Revival', though soundly resisted in Glasgow); until this imagery was re-instated within the national mainstream with Robert Adam's court revival.<22> But perhaps surprisingly, the flow of English cultural influences never reached the stage (until, arguably, the post-War period) when there was not still a powerful architectural mainstream that was characteristically Scots.

Back in our period, the architecture, like the politics, was in transition. The sense of formal architecture being necessarily founded upon martial imagery was for the first time beginning to change, as demonstrated by Murray's own Kilbaberton: monumental, but lacking bartizans (their much less prominent substitutes are reduced to become piers with pyramidal tops, diminutive when compared with the 'real' thing), parapets and

possibly (some exterior walling has been plastered over), gun-holes.

Does this mean that removal of martial imagery in architecture after 1603 might imply among the great patrons a movement of national loyalty away from Scotland and her interests, to the king's new primary interests, which lay elsewhere, and in the forging of a new 'Britain'?

In architecture, the symbolism of imperialism is dateable from at least the time of James IV (though such symbolism is seen on James III coinage)<23>. The Stirling forework gateway (c.1500-10) took the form of a triumphal arch, as did the gateway to the nearby Chapel Royal (1594). Triumphal-arch gateways were given many other buildings: such as St Andrews Castle, Mar's Wark, or the Morton gateway at Edinburgh Castle. Hector Boece made the point that the spire at King's College Aberdeen was in the form of an imperial crown.<24> Other crown spires were built or intended elsewhere, most significantly, perhaps, at Linlithgow, placed of course alongside a mighty royal palace, and possibly therefore the progenitor of the idea in the same way as the Stirling forework triumphal arch appears to have been the progenitor of that feature in the stone-built court architecture.

There emerged standard variations upon the ogee: at for

instance Linlithgow (where similarities between ecclesiastical and non-ecclesiastical are evident), where the hood-mould detail with enriched underside and lipped apex pushing into the feature above is seen both over the James I entrance and the kirk west door. Perhaps the detail which best illustrates continuity in the national mainstream is the curve-ended lintel, with or without a lipped centre (corresponding to an ogee arch-crown). The detail is seen during Murray's period (for instance, at Kilbaberton, 1622-23), and later in the 17th century (as at Bruce's Thirlestane). It is seen in the 15th century on the pulpitum screens of Glasgow Cathedral (actually a depressed arch: which may link it to Restalrig and Ladykirk) and Lincluden; and later, on the James IV-period Linlithgow palace stair doors. So late as the 1720s, use of both features in combination were fashionable at Ross Mains (1728) and William Adam's Craigdarroch (dated 1729). A third doorway, similar to the last two mentioned, is at Closeburn, the Kirkpatrick aisle, dated 1740; but minus the curved ends and centre lip, indicative of a change in fashion. This feature, seen in the James Murray period, and in constant use from the 15th to the 18th century, confirm the continuity factor mentioned above, as does the characteristic of monumentality itself, still favoured in the architecture of James Gibbs (1682-1754), and Robert Adam (1728-92): for instance, the monumental James V tower at Holyrood was quite explicitly the model for a series of Robert Adam designs, such as Culzean, or

Stobs, while the comparatively small Seton has an astonishing monumentality, despite its scale.

The characteristic of innovation can, in broad terms, be divided into three:

- (i) ideas introduced from another country and reproduced in this one,
- (ii) the adaptation of such ideas to suit Scots taste, or alternatively,
- (iii) straightforward invention.

The French-inspired Falkland south quarter courtyard facade, built by French masons, illustrates the first of these; the Newark Castle pediments based on Michelangelo's Porta Pia, disguised to the point of being not instantly recognisable, represents the second. Suggesting a particular feature to be native invention is more difficult, as foreign prototypes may be long-gone or barely-known buildings; though the crown spire may be one such invention (if any one of Linlithgow, Haddington, St Giles or Dundee pre-date St Nicholas Newcastle, in England), while the idea of a steeple as passage, or processional, architecture appears to be another.<25>

Another feature in the 15th-early 16th century court architecture is the round arch. Round-arched architecture in 15th century Europe might have an eye to several sources: there was Roman architecture; but no

evidence that Roman prototypes existed in what was to become post-Roman Scotland, and at any rate, they certainly did not exist in the numbers they still do yet in the Mediterranean lands. Byzantine architecture, which grew out of Roman, is also characterised by the round arch; but in this country, no native prototypes. From the 12th century, there was Romanesque architecture, seen still at Dunfermline, Leuchars and Dalmeny, but it was replaced by Gothic from about the 13th century onwards. Also, there were events in 15th century Italy, most obviously a revivalist architecture based upon the Roman, which from the 19th century has been termed 'Renaissance',^{<26>} And then in contemporary Europe, late Gothic in several countries used the motif of the round arch - eg France, Spain: but seemingly not (at least to any significant degree) England. Thus, in seeking to interpret this characteristic of Scots Gothic, we are faced with a choice:

1. either round-arched architecture in 15th century Scotland was (a) a survival or (b) a revival from the Romanesque period; or perhaps it was (c) both things at once.

2. Alternatively, it was (a) an innovation from outside: most probably from one or more European countries, or even Renaissance Italy; or once again, possibly (b) a mixture of things; namely an external innovation in combination with an existing tradition.

Resolution of this matter cannot be done here. But broadly, it appears to be a revival of a particular historical style: the Romanesque; this done as an expression of the nation's having a long past, and consequently a 'history', which any independent nation needed – particularly a nation threatened by another (in this case, England) who would (and did) deny that nation's right to independence.<27> This was a visual equivalent to the same message conveyed by Bower in his Scotichronicon. But for present purposes, this matters little, as it is sufficient to note in this study, which focuses upon the early 17th century court architecture, that there is something singular in the way that Scots late Gothic work introduces the round arch very frequently: indeed, as regards tracery design, Gothic is founded upon the round arch almost as much as it is on the pointed. The particular way in which the round arch was used in the 15th century is significant; for (eg St Michael's Linlithgow) it came (aside from forming the basis of many tracery patterns) to be used almost exclusively for doorways and for lesser windows (eg clearstorey). This idea of treating doorways (particularly on ecclesiastical buildings) differently from windows is clearly seen in the Murray period, for instance on the aisle of Pencaitland Kirk, though one of the best illustrations of this way of thinking is seen at Dirleton, on the Archerfield aisle of 1664, which has an enormous Gothic-traceried window in (harmonious) combination with a classical doorcase with flat

architrave and pediment.<28>

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Footnotes

1. MacKechnie, In-House, p.5. See also RCAHMS, Inventory of Argyll, vol. 7 (Edinburgh, 1992), pp.196-7, 214-26
2. MacKechnie, In-House
3. Michael Lynch, Scotland: a New History, p.230
4. MacKechnie, In House, p.6
5. Best illustrated as 'passage architecture' - which is the role of the triumphal arch - by Edinburgh's Netherbow Port {illustration conveniently found in C. McKean, Edinburgh: an Illustrated Architectural Guide (Edinburgh, RIAS, 1992), p.28; see also Lynch, op. cit., p.231}, or St Salvator's at St Andrews; the idea carried into 18th-19th century farm/estate stables/courtyard architecture, and Gibbs was to use it at St Martin's in the Fields, in London.
6. MacKechnie, In House, p.7
7. cf. for instance N. Pevsner, the Reith Lectures, 1955, printed as The Englishness of English Art (London: The Architectural Press, 1955); Donald Kelley 'France' & David Starkey, 'England', in ed. Porter, R. and Teich, M. The Renaissance in National Context (Cambridge University Press: 1992), pp.123-145; 146-63
8. Lynch, History of Scotland, p.235, citing others.
9. The Orkney and Islay Rebellions were exceptional, and both were easily suppressed.
10. Lynch, History of Scotland, p.238
11. Of course this idea of elaborating facades was not new, as Mar's Ludging (1560s onwards; 1570 and 1572 datestones) demonstrates; the idea had thereafter fallen from fashion.
12. Walter Bower, Scotichronicon, vol. 8, D. Watt and others edd. (Aberdeen University Press, 1987), pp.242-3
13. C. MacWilliam, Lothian (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, Buildings of Scotland series, 1978), p.118-21
14. M. Lindsay, The Castles of Scotland (1986), pp.335-

- 8; 390. Linlithgow is also included in C. Tabraham, Scottish Castles and Fortifications (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1986), pp.58-9
15. See for instance his 'Architecture: the Changing Needs of Society' in ed. Brown, Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century (London, 1977), ch. 8. The more general point about the "idea of conflict and failure" is made in pages 3-4 of Dr Brown's introduction to that volume.
16. J. Wormald, ed., Scotland Revisited (London, 1991), pp.9, 17
17. MacKechnie, In-House, p.2
18. R. Mason, 'Chivalry and Citizenship: Aspects of National Identity in Renaissance Scotland' in Mason and Macdougall, edd., People and Power (Edinburgh, 1992) eg p.57
19. Extracts, 1604-26, pp.152-3. An engraved view of this cross was published in Hugo Arnot, The History of Edinburgh from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time (Edinburgh: 1788), opposite p.302
20. M. Lynch, History of Scotland, p.243
21. J. Slezer, Theatrum Scotiae (London, 1693), pl. 24
22. Though Dugald Campbell had a role in the early stages of this revival, eg in his design for Inveraray; see Lindsay and Cosh, Inveraray and the Dukes of Argyll (Edinburgh, 1973), pl.19
23. For an illustration of the James III groat on which the king is represented as on an Italianate portrait medallion, the closed, or 'imperial' crown on his head, see R. Marshall, ed., Dynasty: the Royal House of Stewart (National Galleries and National Museums of Scotland, 1990), pl.14
24. Boetti, Hectorus, Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitea, ed. and translated by James Moir (New Spalding Club, 1894), p.95
25. In a sense, it matters little where the earliest crown spire was built. The English example is hardly recognisable as a crown, having rather more the appearance of a quirky, soaring open-worked spire with the characteristic slender, soaring qualities typical of English Gothic, the emphasis on elegance rather than on symbolism, the origin possibly a straightforward consequence of ingenious experiment in the form of spire design: suggesting that the symbolism, or symbolic potential, was either not understood, or - more probably - not aimed at. Besides, as a provincial town, Newcastle would hardly have been a suitable first choice of

location for such symbolism to be presented (note that 15th-16th century Scots examples are all in the east).

26. Brunelleschi's early revivalist architecture was in great measure Romanesque revival. See John B. Onians, 'Brunelleschi: humanist or nationalist', Art History, 5 (1982), pp.259-72

27. Ian Campbell, op. cit.

28. George Hay, The Architecture of Scottish Post-Reformation Churches: 1560-1843 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), pl.3b. Similar combinations are seen at the Heriot's chapel.

CHAPTER 4: THE WIDER CONTEXT

(a) ARCHITECTURE

Following Jamie Saxt's 'emigration', the national architectural tradition continued, and despite the loss of the court, the top-class architecture remained a "court style", for it was still used on royal works and palaces, as well as on buildings constructed for courtiers, for at least three of the few foremost political figures of the period (the Earls of Dunbar, Dunfermline and of Stirling) and for major public buildings. Yet despite the evidence of English influence in many areas of activity (notably the political) resulting from the court being now resident in England, and in the Arts including architecture, there is no evidence to suggest an amalgamation or assimilation with contemporary English works made for the court there (the Earl of Dunbar's long-demolished house in Berwick, built by Murray for a man who was to become Chancellor of the Exchequer in England, may have been an exception to this general rule, though there is no evidence to suggest that it was). Neither was there an aping of English architecture, to please Scottish courtiers who now chose, or perhaps had, to spend much, most, or (as in the case of Lennox) all of their time, in England, and therefore (significant to study of cultural influences) amongst the English, and their separate, independent national culture (for Scots courtiers, or would-be courtiers of post-1603 Scotland, to meet the king meant going abroad, to

England). Quite the contrary in fact, for as will be seen, influences upon the national mainstream were to come – or apparently come – from the Low Countries, Denmark and France, as well as from England: whilst underlying all this, was the national tradition, of which the country's architects and craftsmen were themselves a product.

The explanation for the continued thriving of an independent Scots architecture lies in the fact that the national mainstream was too powerful to be subsumed other than by extraordinary means; for this was of course no regional style, but a national architecture, as existed in any other European state of the time. And like any other such national tradition, its designers were alive to the ideas of others which might with effect be accommodated within the national mainstream; that is, design was forever in a stage of change, and the architecture would of course adapt. Also influential upon the continuation of the independent tradition was the fact that the nobility, or courtier class, had yet made only little move towards the Anglicisation which from the 18th century onwards was to set them apart from their countrymen by de-racination in the English caste-school system. That said, there can be little doubt that the court's permanent abandonment of the country in 1603 was the primary factor which brought about the particular process of change in architectural requirements to a direction which it might never have otherwise taken.<1> For change was afoot in the arts: already evident in the poetry of Sir William Alexander (of

whom more below) and of Drummond of Hawthornden was the discarding of the vocabulary and much of the Scots tradition (though the national tradition could exist in 'camouflaged' form in Latin); consequence of a cultural change - a process probably the more evident after the mid-18th century - as the nobility came to identify more with the culture of England than with that of Scotland, their loyalty committed to the new multi-nation state of Britain (which even then - as now - had a different meaning in England to that which it has to many in this country), their children educated not in their own country, but in England, where the culture of the English aristocracy was taught them. Our period witnessed the storm clouds beginning to gather of the country's full political incorporation and the consequential de-valorising of her national culture, manifested in the architectural context by there becoming rather more of an alignment between the architecture of the two countries: until the break was again burst through by Robert Adam, and by his revival of the 16th century court architecture.

But in the first decades following regnal union, Scots courtiers remained content not only with what their own countrymen could produce, but also with an architecture that was still very much of the national tradition. And where Englishmen are referred to in contemporary documentation (eg Valentine Jenkin), they are craftsmen with particular skills, paid for specific projects or tasks, and they are not architects brought in to change

the course of Scottish architecture.<2> Other imported craftsmen of the early 17th century included plasterers, and in only one recorded case - that of Nicholas Stone, described as a 'carver' - they were not masons,<3> the craft re-organised in the late 16th century by William Schaw, and the craft in which Scots excelled until the skills were lost in the present century. Scots had evidently seen their strength lay in this craft, as good/high quality freestone was a natural resource which 16th/17th century Scotland had in bountiful supply; and the enormous quantity of fair/ to good/ to excellent quality sculptural work seen on most surviving buildings of the period - certainly on those discussed below in depth - testifies to there being a perhaps surprisingly wide pool of people capable of such work (despite the lack of written documentation to prove it). Any skilled mason of the time might reasonably have looked on the achievement of his craft and consider it to be pre-eminent among the building crafts - which status was of course that ascribed it by Vitruvius, and in Scotland, formalised by William Schaw.<4> There can hardly have been many bricklayers in the whole country at this time, and those who were would have found little more than oven-building or partition-walling open to them. Thus, Dutch or English craftsmen used to building in brick would be regarded as a lower order of person in a 'stone' country, particularly that country which had issued the Schaw Statutes.

Thus, Nicholas Stone, although responsible for designing

some buildings in England, cannot be associated with the design of any single building in Scotland, despite his having been here, to install work at Holyrood.<5> That is an important point. As with other areas of cultural life - most obviously the kirk - the Scots tradition was sufficiently confident, independent and strong to continue to develop along its own path, in the same way as in the previous century French architecture introduced by James IV and James V was on the one hand influential, but on the other hand came nowhere near to supplanting the Scottish architectural tradition. Thus, the 1537 and 1539 facades of Falkland are in a sense very singular, in being purely French in character, while having - besides Dunottar and Thirlstane - spawned no obviously close imitations, though derivatives in the general terms of a 'horizontalising' architecture did appear (cf Culross Abbey House, *infra.*), as did specific details (eg roundels). But why should we expect that there should necessarily have been derivatives? Surely the lack of designs which closely follow published pattern books - which we know to have been used here - points to a conscious decision not to ape or unthinkingly copy: which points in turn to a self-confident national tradition. There was no need to replicate entire facades of buildings belonging to a different tradition when the national tradition was anyway in flourish, and it is a misunderstanding by Summerson to see this as a failure on the part of 16th century architects.<6> Renaissance-period builders could not have predicted that in our time a mentality would exist which

guaged the sophistication of a national tradition on the basis of how far it did or did not imitate Italian work.

In Murray's period, the existence of course of English craftsmen in connection with these buildings shows that there evidently were direct external influences, just as there had been throughout the previous century and before. The significant difference is that French, Flemish or Italian craftsmen are no longer in evidence in the way they had formerly been, and - as in affairs political - the English influence was more likely to become the dominant one. Removal of the royal court meant removal of royal patronage in architecture - a phased removal, investment reduced to approximately nil by the 18th century. Resources - logically enough - were now to be concentrated upon the royal palaces which it was proposed to use: the English ones (with, in the Restoration period, the exception of the symbolic reconstruction of Holyrood: unseen by ruling monarch for two-and-a-half centuries). Thus, with the few early 17th century exceptions discussed in chapter 10 below, royal architecture for Scotland's king came to be produced not by Scots, as before, but by more-or-less exclusively, the English for what by so early as Charles I's time had become a completely Anglicised and Anglo-centric monarchy. Patronage that had brought people to James IV's court such as his Italian trumpeters, his Moor tabrouner, French, Dutch and Italian craftsmen, no longer extended to Scotland's royal works;^{<7>} which meant that such imported European sophistication was no longer

available: if the Scots had a need that could not be satisfied within the country, then application to the crown meant that it would almost without exception be English people alone who would fill that gap.<8>

In Scotland in this early 17th century period there was (as before, and later) a pro-England party who saw virtue in political union. But the anti-union party was still the predominant one, and indeed, a feature of the period is the strength of nationalist feeling, which contributed to the failure of James VI's plans for political Union in 1604 (English nationalism was another, especially under a Scots king), and led to the reaction to Charles' policies which were increasingly pressing provincialism on Scotland. Why, indeed, should popular feeling have been otherwise? The Reformation of 1560 brought Scotland, politically, closer to England, simultaneously distancing her from non-Reformed France;<9> but relations between the two countries in the few years prior to regnal union were such that Queen Elizabeth of England considered it wise to invest a significant sum in building up her border defences (and indeed Ireland was regarded by England as another 'problem' area in which the Scots might bring instability).<10> The two countries were evidently still eyeing one another with a measure of suspicion, with the above-noted consequences to James' dream of political union. This nationalism in great measure helped bring about the Covenanting movement in response to Charles' policies. Speaking of Charles, Macinnes has noted his

"unparalleled lack of understanding of the mechanics of government [of Scotland] and the underlying social structure of Scottish politics",^{<11>} observing too that "his remorseless promotion of conformity to English practice took no account of Scottish fears of provincial relegation inflamed by the union of the crowns... His relentless pursuit of administrative, economic and religious uniformity not only provoked constitutional opposition, but fanned the flames of nationalism that was to terminate his personal rule by 1638".^{<12>} Perhaps it was this environment which led to nationalism possibly finding expression in the court architecture with what appears to be a Scots baronial revival, exemplified by the wilfully asymmetrical Winton House, built for the courtier 3rd Earl of Winton.

In Murray's period, the strong French influence on Scottish architecture evident from the Middle Ages onwards and throughout the 16th century was now much less apparent, the last flowering of French-inspired work being that of the St Andrews-Stirling Court school of the mid/late 16th century, discussed above. Ascendancy of the Scots protestant faction, leading to the Reformation, had helped align Scotland with protestant England, and when from about the late 1580s James saw the increasing likelihood of his inheriting the English crown, he was anxious to be on friendly terms with Elizabeth, to the extent that he raised little more than a whimper when she had James' mother killed for reasons doubtful of



justification. And after 1603 and James' accession to the English throne, the permanent transfer of the Court to England meant that Scotland was exposed to her culture in a way that had not been previously. French architecture under Henry IV and Louis XIII took a different direction from that taken by Scotland; for while court/courtier architecture in early 17th century Scotland took the direction outlined here, architecture in France, whilst sharing the common idea of applying elaborate ornament to facades, chose a different style, characterised by extensive use of rustication (barely seen in Scotland until the Restoration period - though of the Mary and Darnley monogrammed palace doorway of 1566 at Edinburgh, and Almond Castle, Stirlingshire) and a more formal classicism. That said, similarities with French work can in fact be seen - for instance the French 'Hotel' design of the Argyll Lodging, and these are noted below.

Instead of France, which had provided probably the greatest single direct external influence upon Scottish transitional and renaissance architecture from at least the time of James IV until the 1580s or later, another (ie besides England) strong influence on the architecture of Murray's period came from Holland. There were two main reasons for this: firstly, the Scots Reformation of 1560 was a rejection also of Catholic France as Scotland's auld ally; instead, the theology of the Dutch reformed church was now close to that of Scotland, which inevitably intensified links between the two countries - for instance

by 1625, Leyden had become the main university to which Scots theology students attended abroad, and earlier still, the innovative and centralised plan of Burntisland (1592) illustrated these theological links.<13> But secondly, and more powerfully, Holland was increasingly becoming the financial capital of Europe, and Scots trade (which had been routed through a staple port, sited since the mid-15th century at Veere) expanded, both in volume and in raw commodities, such as coal and salt.<14> But English influence is also evident, and indeed the question arises whether much of this Netherlandish detailing comes direct from the Low Countries, or from England, for it will be seen that some detailing at Winton finds almost exact parallel in England.

There are, too, evident links in Scotland with Danish architecture, and with the works of the amateur architect King Christian IV. Christian was the brother of Queen Anne, and the Danish court was well known to Scots such as William Schaw (who had visited with James VI, when he went to meet his new wife),<15> and the father of his successor David Cunningham of Robertland, of whom more below. The royal palace of Kronberg,<16> for example has features that compare with Scottish work, for instance in the way that elevations are flat-fronted and regular, broken only by projecting polygonal stair turrets, and with triangular pediments "floating" above windows in the same way as are those on the Edinburgh and Linlithgow palace blocks, and at Culross, floor divisions expressed by horizontal string

courses. The palace of Borggaardsanlaeg is another notable building that has affinities with Scots work,<17> with features both as discussed above, as well as the use of canted bay windows set on gables, carried through several storeys, stopped below the gable head with a leaded ogee dome, in the same manner as the bay window at Pinkie. Other similarities are discussed below, particularly in relation to Heriot's.

Having noted some external influences, it is important to avoid the 'black hole' school of Scottish cultural history (as evinced, eg, by Summerson):<18> the mentality that sees the country only in terms of external influences coming in; as if Scotland was a 'black hole' with a one-way flow of ideas. For some features (eg the cusped underside of an arch) are an international currency: that is, they are Scots, French, English, Danish, and so on, and use of the feature outwith the country of its invention does nothing to downgrade the architecture of the range of adoptive countries.<19>

A Scots court architecture, as noted, is identifiable in preceding periods, where high-quality designs of similar type and ornament were made by the same group of craftsmen for crown and courtiers, and ornamented with decoration of similarly high quality. In early 17th century Scotland, similar circumstances prevail except that there was now of course no longer a Scottish royal court, only an administration to which orders came from a land that was

then foreign - and with the accession of Charles in 1625, from a king who was by then equally alien. This, then, is where terminology comes to be a problem, for without there being a Scots royal court, the term 'Court Architecture' is evidently inappropriate. Recognising this problem, and yet recognising too that this is more than the architecture of the Scottish administration alone, since it was used on the royal palaces (thus rendering the seemingly obvious term 'courtier architecture' a misnomer), we are left trying to choose a name in terms of this not altogether satisfactory nomenclature, in the absence of anything more fitting. Terms such as "premier", or "leading", or "of the Scottish administration" do not convey precisely the meaning required. The term "progenitor architecture" would be slightly misleading, as it suggests an inevitability. Like any true 'court' architecture, this work was produced for royalty - and, indeed, passed the ultimate test of pleasing royalty.<20> As the court was an absentee one, then this architectural style has to be termed "The Absentee Court Architecture" - a necessarily clumsy name, if it is to be accurate. So it is called thus in the subtitle, but as a convenience, usually abbreviated in the text to 'court architecture'.

4 - (b) THE POLITICAL CONTEXT OF REGNAL UNION

Why did an absentee court architecture survive in Scotland, when it might appear strange to some that it did

- and indeed was invisible (or virtually so), not only to the 'British' authors such as Morrice,<21> and the once-resident Sir John Summerson,<22> but also to modern Scottish writers whose subject was Scottish architecture?<23> The fact is that departure of the king and royal court left a colossal vacuum in the cultural and the political life of Scotland, by removal both of direct contact with the king and of patronage on the scale of what had formerly been. But this was different from a military conquest and follow-on actual or attempted substitution of native culture for that of the conqueror (cf. the case of Wales, for instance; or Ireland); instead, all the other features of government and of public life survived, with a Scots parliament and administration centred in Edinburgh, the Privy Council, General Assembly, and legal establishment. Lairds still built or occupied town houses for themselves, industrial and cultural activity continued to progress. Although the king was now remote, everything else kept going, retaining a Scots nobility, continuing (in many respects) much as before, with employment in Scotland for younger sons (for whom the legal profession was a favourite one) in the same way as before, though of course the top household positions - and of Scots, these were few - took people away more or less permanently.<24> But there was too an established Scots architectural tradition, which was too strong to be easily done away with. Indeed, the point has been made elsewhere that it was not until the 20th century, especially the post-World War 2 period, that this

was to change, when government-funded housing brought close government scrutiny to the architecture that was built and the way in which it was built - eg, the government-inspired creation of New Towns as part of the attempt to break up Glasgow Corporation, judged in London to be politically too powerful.<25>

Maurice Lee Jr identified 3 different categories of London Scots - the great lords, the household and bed-chamber people, and government officials.<26> But in fact, it was really only in the royal household that Scots in prominent positions became and remained prominent in England, particularly in the Queen's service. Information to the contrary relayed home by the Venetian ambassador - that "the supreme offices are bestowed upon Scots...every day posts are taken from the English" - has in recent years been called into question.<27> Whilst we await conclusive research on the matter, available evidence suggests that although a considerable number of Scots went to England in 1603, most of the officials, such as Sir David Murray, the comptroller, returned fairly quickly. Only one Scotsman - George Home, Earl of Dunbar, the greatest-ranking Scots political figure - neither resigned nor returned home, and actually made it (and for a short time at that) into the English government, as Chancellor of the Exchequer,<28> and even he did not make it in to the "quadrumvirate" (of Cecil, Worcester, Northampton and Suffolk) who are generally regarded as having contributed most to James' policy in England. Lord Kinloss, who became Master of the

Rolls in England, gave up both his Scots government post as well as his Scots nationality, so does not quite in the same way, count.<29> The number of Scots occupying official positions was small (though, as will be seen, included Cunningham of Robertland), and in fact the home-based Scottish bureaucracy remained virtually intact after 1603; the Earl of Dunbar and Lord Kinloss (builders, respectively, of the Berwick house and Abbey House Culross, key buildings both, discussed at length infra), Mar, Lennox and Sir James Elphinstone being (besides the king) the principal London Scots. James had set out to create a harmony between the constituent peoples of his new united kingdom, and perhaps an awareness to English sensitivities and resentments (and therefore of the English view towards their new king) in part explained his rewarding Scots with money, rather than (to their dismay) with offices.

The Scots involved in government were rewarded with generous allowances,<30> and many, as will be seen, chose to invest this wealth in building. There was much acquiring and conveyance of property, often among the political elite itself: which implies investment in architecture.<31> Dunbar and Kinloss are noted above in that context, but others of this elite included such as Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline, Thomas Erskine, Viscount Fentoun (who replaced Sir Walter Raleigh as captain of the King's Guard),<32> John Murray of Lochmaben, keeper of the Privy Purse and later Earl of

Annandale,<33> and Sir Gideon Murray of Elibank, Treasure Depute; all were involved in the Scottish administration and nearly all also feature below as patrons of this court style of architecture; which is one of the central points in this study. These were some of the people best able to invest in building; they all knew of London fashion (and of course, some of them knew some European countries probably no less well), and what was going on there, and they all had access to the architectural resources which the king had in Scotland, in terms of architects and craftsmen - evidently including access to craftsmen associated with the English court, as demonstrated by the Earl of Huntly's having employed Ralph Rawlinson in the north, in 1633.<34>

It has been seen that sufficient remained unchanged in Scotland for things to continue much as before in many areas of life. There was still a nobility - with people such as Hume and Kinloss probably much wealthier than they were before from gifts such as Berwick - and a momentum which kept things going as before. It was this momentum which enabled architectural developments also to take place as before - there was indeed no reason really why it should do otherwise; it would really have required either a complete breakdown in confidence in what Scotland's architectural 'elite' could provide, or imposition in Scotland of outsiders at the top levels - neither of which happened - before there would have been reason for there to be an end to a top Scottish architecture existing, that

set the fashion.<35> Indeed, the existence of an absentee court architecture can be argued for as having existed in Scotland of the Restoration period, with the class of buildings provided by Bruce and Smith for crown, nobility and public works (Strathleven, for example, seems out of its place in the west), whilst the existence of an 'East-West divide' in architecture (for the Court architecture was from at least the 15th century centred in East-Central Scotland) carried in to the 20th century, best exemplified by the very different architectural styles of Mackintosh and Lorimer, and their followers.

There is a temptation to draw something of an analogy between the early 17th century architectural excellence which flourished despite loss of the court, and the similar achievement of the Enlightenment, post-1707. For after the latter year, the country/city which on top of having lost its king had now lost its parliament too and (after 1714) its Privy Council: as was the case a century earlier, there was a vacuum, but, paradoxically, no collapse of native culture and independent thought. On the one hand there increased the aim of the Scots literati to write in 'English prose as pure and correct as anything written in London and the South', and the self-conscious 'de-Scoticisation' of speech which nowadays seems laughable; while on the other hand, as loss of political independence led to a 'taking stock' of what was Scots culture, there was already something of a revival of national culture, for instance with the works of Allan

Ramsay (elder), leading on to MacPherson's "Ossian", Burns, and Walter Scott.<36> Presumably it was the fact that the country was sufficiently large, with an established culture sufficiently powerful, that it could withstand such cultural assaults.

Few would dispute that James VI had political failings - not least in his post-1603 attitude towards Scotland; and his son Charles can be seen as throwing away the agreement of his people in the three kingdoms to have him rule, losing his crown and then his life. On the other hand, royal appointments made by James and by Charles in the area of the visual and the literary arts were, by and large, astutely made: for they were the patrons of some of Europe's greatest - of Vandyke, Jones and of Shakespeare.<37> This was the calibre of person about the court with whom Murray was ranked. Closer to home, he might be compared with contemporaries such as William Drummond of Hawthornden, the foremost Scottish literary figure of the age, who was also patronised by the crown and whose book title-pages were also of this Court style of ornament,<38> or with George Jamieson, the portrait painter.<39>

James "patronised the arts with extravagance, encouraged the ... masque",<40> and was deeply interested in literature, particularly poetry, establishing his well-known "Castalian Band", which he saw as setting a bright new era for literature in Scotland.<41> In architecture -

by the nature of things much less well documented than literature - a similar royal interest in building to bold new designs is evidenced by the Chapel Royal in Stirling, rebuilt in an Italianate style for the baptism of Prince Henry in 1594, and then later, by the buildings of Murray's period (for one would expect the plan for reconstruction of, for instance, Linlithgow north quarter to have been taken to England for royal approval).

This particular Scots court style declined in the mid/late 1630s: that is, after Murray's death in 1634 and as the country was embarking upon the great religious/political debate which led to financial/commercial loss, destructive civil unrest and war.<42> Notwithstanding some exceptions, it was not until the Restoration period that buildings of comparable quality were again seen in Scotland - which brings us back to Bruce - though late fairly mainstream examples of the style co-existed with Bruce and James Smith's sophisticated new architecture. This is seen in the strap-worked ornament at, for instance, Black Barony (early 18th century), the 1668 doorway at Blair (Ayrshire) and the kirkyard monuments at Glasgow Cathedral, while Bruce too was sometimes content to use or to see used designs which belong to Murray's period. He (Bruce) doubtless had access to some of the early 17th century design drawings made for the royal works: the doorways, for example, of Thirlestane and of Moncrieffe are (as will be shown) in conception both re-used designs of the pre-Restoration period, as is

the ogee cupola of Stirling town house. Analogy could be made with John Webb in England, who reproduced some ideas of Inigo Jones - though to lesser general acceptance than Murray's legacy in Scotland was to find.<43> The architectural legacy of Murray's period, evident until well into the 18th century, is very significant indeed, and is discussed below.

So, this thesis shows that in the first half of the 17th century Scotland (as in the 16th century) had a "court" architecture of high quality, even though the court was absentee - a fact which has been overlooked, or forgotten. It shows also that responsibility for the achievement of this particular court style must lie in great measure with Sir James Murray of Kilbaberton, whose name, too, has been all but forgotten, while the names of arguably lesser men - such as Wallace, the two Johns Mylne and William Aytoun - are, paradoxically, all known by Scottish historians, and given something closer to due acknowledgement. They may indeed have been elevated perhaps too highly.

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Footnotes

1. The royal visits of 1617 and 1633 were exceptional. The only other period prior to George IV's visit was when as Duke of York, and temporarily exiled from the court, the future James VII/II took up brief residence at Holyrood, from 1679-81. For the cultural significance of that period, see H. Ouston, 'York in Edinburgh: James VII and the Patronage of Learning in Scotland, 1679-1688', in

Dwyer and others edd., New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland (Edinburgh, John Donald, n.d.), pp.133-55.

2. J. Imrie and J. Dunbar, edd., Accounts, II (Edinburgh, 1982), pp.79, 104, and passim.

3. Accounts, II, pp.lxxvii, lxxxvii

4. D. Stevenson, The Origins of Freemasonry (Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.112

5. Accounts, II, pp.lxxvii, lxxxvii

6. Summerson, Architecture in Britain, p.528

7. See for instance, Treasurer's Accounts: vol II, p.395 ('Italien las that dansit'), p.451 ('More taubronar'); vol III, 1506-7; p.402 ('Pieris the payntour'); Vol IV, 1507-13; p.83 ('the Italien menstiales'), p.66 ('Peiris Frenchman'), p.271 ('foure Franche menstiales'; 'Cressent, Italiane maissone'); Purser, Scotland's Music (Edinburgh, 1992), p.86

8. As witness the employment post-1603 in this country of Rawlinson or Jenkin; Hulbert and Dunsterfield in the time of Sir William Bruce (first at Holyrood, thereafter at Thirlstane and Balcaskie, homes, respectively, of the Earl of Lauderdale and of Bruce); Dutch carvers employed at James Smith's Drumlanrig and Van Nost at nearby Durisdeer. All were engaged primarily because they worked in England for the English court.

9. Though post-Reformation academic and other links with Huguenot France are discussed by J. Durkan, 'The French Connection', in ed. Smout, Scotland and Europe, 1200-1850 (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1986), pp.23-24.

10. M. Merriman, "'The Epystle to the Queen's Majestie' and its 'Platte'", in Architectural History, 27 (1984), pp.25-32.

11. Allan Macinnes, Charles I and the Making of the Covenanted Movement 1625-1641 (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1991), p.2

12. ibid., p.1

13. For instance, of. the Nieuwe Kerk, Haarlem 1645-9, illustrated in W. Kuyper, Dutch Classicist Architecture (Delft University Press, 1980), fig.4

14. S.G.E. Lythe, The Economy of Scotland in its European Setting, 1550-1625 (Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd, 1960), chapter VIII

15. Stevenson, Origins pp.29-30

16. Harald Langberg, Kronborg Castle Elsinore (1979) (Official Guide Book)
17. V. Lorenzen, Det Danske Hus (Copenhagen, 1920), p.76
18. Summerson, Architecture in Britain, Appendix I. More recently, it has been argued that influences are always two-way: see A. Broadie, The Tradition of Scottish Philosophy: a new Perspective on the Enlightenment (Edinburgh, Polygon, 1990), pp.2-3, 26.
19. MacKechnie, In House, p.7
20. See chapter 10.
21. R. Morrice, op. cit.
22. Summerson, Architecture in Britain, Appendix I
23. eg Dunbar, in his Architecture in Scotland, 1978; MacWilliam used the term in his Lothian, but inconsistently, ie he had not worked out exactly what he meant by use of the term. Also, MacKechnie, 'Evidence of a post-1603 Scottish Court Architecture?' in Architectural History 1987: whose very title, complete with question mark, demonstrates a failure to grasp the situation.
24. James Murray, in 1607 master cook, was doubtless one such Scotsman (CSP Dom. 1603-10, p367)
25. Glendinning, M. and Muthesius, S., Tower Blocks (New Haven, forthcoming 1994), ch.20
26. M Lee, Jr., 'James VI's Government of Scotland after 1603', SHR, vol. LV, no.159 (1976), p.42
27. Galloway and Levack, edd., The Jacobean Union/ Six Tracts of 1604 in SHS (1985), p.xiii ff. An alternative view on this point is given by K. Brown in his Kingdom or Province? Scotland and the Regnal Union, 1603-1715 (London, 1992), pp.9-10
28. Lee, 'James VI's government', p.43
29. ibid., p.42
30. ibid., p.42
31. eg The Earl of Haddington's acquisition in 1628 of Tynninghame from Sir John Murray, Lord Annandale; see Peerage, vol. IV, pp.310-29, for his land transactions.
32. Lee 'James VI's Government', p.44
33. ibid., p.44
34. Accounts, II, p.313; the reference is for "hors hyre and fraught from the Chanrie in Ross" - ie Chanonry, or

Fortrose. Where exactly Rawlinson was employed remains a mystery, for it may only have been from Fortrose that he took ship.

35. Yet the Scotsman Cunninghame was in a sense "imposed" upon the English works.

36. A. Hook (ed.) The History of Scottish Literature, vol. II, 1660-1800 (Aberdeen University Press, 1987), pp.3-4, (general editor Cairns Craig)

37. For James and Charles, see for instance: D. H. Willson, King James VI & I (London: Jonathan Cape, 1956, various subsequent editions); M. Lee, Great Britain's Solomon: James VI and I in his Three Kingdoms (Urbana, 1990); David Mathew, Scotland Under Charles I, (London: Eyre & Spottiswood, 1955); Macinnes, Charles I

38. For instance, that of his Flowres of Sion (1623). See The poetical Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden, 2 vols (Scottish Text Society, 1913). Facsimile title pages of this court style, with fruity garlands as seen on stonework and paintwork, include that from Poems, 1616 [plate 7] and Flowres of Sion, 1623 [plate 11].

39. For further on Jamieson, see Duncan Thomson The Life and Art of George Jamieson (Oxford, 1974); or, more recently, Duncan MacMillan, Scottish Art, p.50 & ch.III

40. Royal Scottish Museum, King James VI & I, Edinburgh Festival Exhibition Catalogue (1975), p.5

41. Recent work on which is conveniently available in R.D.S. Jack, 'Poetry under James VI', History of Scottish Literature, (Aberdeen University Press, 1988), vol.I (ed. R.D.S. Jack), pp.125-138.

42. James Brown, The Social, Political and Economic Influences of the Edinburgh Merchant Elite, 1600-1638 (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1986): makes the point that when the Edinburgh trading elite experienced 'economic contractions...the attitudes and reactions of the burgh's wealthiest merchants were to prove crucial to a society on the brink of social chaos and revolution.' [Abstract]

43. For John Webb, see Colvin, Biographical Dictionary, pp.870-4

CHAPTER 5 – THE WIDER CONTEXT – CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC

So what was the context into which this new architectural fashion was introduced? What was the economic situation, the intellectual, the cultural and the manufacturing context? Was it an environment in which architecture of a high quality might be expected to flourish? Departure of the court meant loss of the greatest, most prestigious, patron of all. What happened to the structure of the nation once shorn of court and all that went along with its presence and patronage?

This early 17th century period was a time when numerous efforts were made to promote existing industries such as fishing, farming and coal-mining, as well as to create new industries; this might on occasion bring out the best in inventiveness: Sir George Bruce's undersea mine, for instance, with its 'island' air-shaft was a technological marvel of its time.<1>

The city of Edinburgh was in 1620 given a patent to make clothes;<2> in 1620, a monopoly was granted to Samuel Johnstone of Elphinston for his inventions, he having "spent much tyme and bene at greit chargeis for inventing and finding oute of new devises and engynes for drying of colpottis [=coalpits] and drawing up of greit weychtis...".<3> In about 1610 Sir George Hay established iron works at Loch Maree, with Scotland's first blast

furnace, and where cannon were manufactured.<4> The sites of some iron foundries in Kintyre, for example, were noted by RCAHMS, whose view was that "some of these sites may have been worked during the 17th and early 18th centuries...but others may be of earlier date".<5> Iron work mentioned in the Accounts was principally either Swedish or else from Danzig/Gdansk,<6> but there are occasional references to "Scottis irne": for instance, in 1626, bought from Duncan Lindsay in Leith (suggesting it was shipped there, maybe from Gairloch when Hay's furnace may have been operational).<7> Scots iron came in at 26s/8d (= 2 merks) the stone. in 1626, Danzig iron cost 31s per stone, Swedish 28s and Spanish 34s, while at 9 and a half stone, the Scots quantity bought in that year was in fact smaller than that of the imports - with 29 stone 15 lb of Spanish the greatest single quantity of this little cluster of purchases in July 1626.<8> Perhaps more Scots iron would have been used if available, perhaps its infrequent appearance in these accounts is because it was found to be inferior.

Hay's iron-working commission was for 31 years, and was for the manufacture of glass also.<9> It is recorded that some iron was provided by Hay for the royal works. Thus, in accounts for 3rd February, 1617, reference is made

to Sir George Hay for 1194 stane 4 lib wecht of Scottis irone at ii merk stane...im vc lxxxii lib. vi s. viii d.<10>

This was for the works at Edinburgh Castle, and must

confirm that the Gairloch foundry was operating successfully and very productively at that date. Then again, on 17th February 1617,

For the careing the haill Scottis iron gottin fra the clerk of register fra the wey hous to the castell...xlvi s.<11>

The "clerk of register" was in fact Hay, who had been given that position in 26th March 1616.<12>

Hay was evidently a remarkable, innovative and enterprising man. According to Sibbald, he also established an iron works at Dunfermline, while in 1611 he obtained consent from the town of Inverness to divert water from the River Ness to serve an intended lead mill and iron works at the Bught, though whether this project came to anything is not known.<13> Doubtless it was through his interests in the Highlands that he was in a position to provide timber for the royal works on a significant scale - for instance, in 1617, when he was paid for 410 'double Scottis dailles...vc xlix [lib.]'.<14> His Perthshire links probably meant that he spoke Gaidhlig, which would have helped enormously in Gairloch.

Hay went on to enjoy a political career which led to his succeeding Dunfermline as Chancellor on the latter's death in 1622, though he still kept some involvement in enterprises.<15> A patent was issued to him in 1618 for making gunpowder (though as in 1626 Sir James Bailie was

asked when at Court if provision could be made to send to Scotland people "skilfull in the making of saltpeeter and poulder [= gunpowder, presumably, as saltpetre is a constituent of gunpowder]", the initial efforts were evidently insufficient).<16>

The high level of enterprising activity, centred particularly around Edinburgh, has been recently discussed by Brown.<17> Foreigners were brought in to teach leathertanning and fine textile work; soap manufactory and glass, oil-fishing in the Greenland seas; all this and more was being done in the period. Navigational improvements too were being introduced, to facilitate safer passage than ever before in the Forth. (Trade was still of course very much conducted through the east coast.) The outstanding work in this context was the erection of a lighthouse on the Isle of May in 1636, fired by the abundant coal supplies from the nearby mainland.<18> But previous to this, in 1621, a series of marker guides - 'beakynis and otheris ingynis' were to be provided by Sir George Bruce, these to be erected 'upoun some blind craigis withine the said Firthe for geving notice to the strangearis quho ar not acquainted thairwith how to eshew the same...' (a levy upon shipping towards repayment of Bruce's outlay was ordered by the privy council).<19>

But while these industrial and technological improvements show a society at, or searching for, the forefront of such

developments in Europe, what is more important for us here - and contrasting post-1707, when political power had, virtually, been completely removed - is the progress in manufacture of luxury, or culturally prestigious, goods. Whilst the above-mentioned register of imports/exports of 1612 shows that Scotland's exports were chiefly of unprocessed or unmanufactured goods compared with her imports, the bulk of which were manufactured, often fancy goods, this is not the whole story: for some native manufactured Scottish products were of particularly high quality. Scots pistol makers, for example, earned a deservedly high reputation, and they operated in various of the principal burghs, with Robert Mosman in the Canongate and James Gray in Dundee being among the better-known. Dundee, indeed, in the period "was a centre of the gun-making industry".^{<20>} Among the finest quality work produced in the period was the output of a fellow-citizen of Gray's, James Low, who in 1611 made a pair of "snaphaunce" pistols which were sufficiently grand to be added to the collection of Louis XIII, king of France and Navarre. These pistols, which survive in the National Museum of Scotland, are all-metal - this a characteristic, or diagnostic feature which marked a peculiarly Scottish tradition of pistol-making, dating from at least 1598.^{<21>}

The interesting points to emerge from these facts are that Scotland

1) could produce pistols of a quality that was fully the equal of that in other countries, and

2) by going a step further than simply imitating the works of others, there was sufficient confidence to develop a distinct national style of pistol-making.

Other fancy artefacts and manufactures of native manufacture include watches - one signed by "Hieronymus Hamilthon Scotus Me Fecit 1595",^{<22>} others by David Ramsay (who became King's clockmaker in 1613) including one bearing the arms of the Scotsman Robert Car(r) (a Kerr of Ferniehurst/Ancrum), as Earl of Somerset, a position he obtained in 1613, being for a time favoured by the king who was (reputedly) physically attracted to him.^{<23>} Another watch by Ramsay may have been made for King James, as it bears his arms and monogram. Interestingly, the engraver was Gerard de Heck, evidently of non-Scots origins.^{<24>} A table clock of c1610, possibly also by Ramsey, is very architectural indeed, with caryatids of a character like the consoles of the near-identical chimney pieces at James VI's Linlithgow north gallery and the Argyll Lodging.^{<25>}

Fine jewelry and silverwork too was often of high or exquisite quality, and George Heriot, jeweller to James VI and to Anne of Denmark, held his position when the court moved south in 1603, amassing in the process an enormous wealth [though perhaps by his later years Heriot had become more an acquirer of jewelry than a manufacturer]. The Edinburgh city mace of 1617 was made by George Robertson, Edinburgh, and it too is of extremely high

quality.<26>

At their best, then, Scottish-made pistols, clocks, watches and jewelry were of a quality that compared with the best in Europe, as did the portraits of Jamieson and the technological inventiveness of the Culross mine. When compared with other countries of similar or comparable population (such as Norway, Denmark, etc.,) then Scotland looks good; for it is with these countries that comparisons drawn with Scotland are more meaningful, as comparison with the more populous European countries, such as England, France, Italy and Spain, almost inevitably leaves countries the size of Scotland or Denmark, and their achievements, looking comparatively poor.

What is of significance is that in the 17th century, for its size, Scotland was up with the leaders in 'high value added' (as opposed to cheap) manufacture - a situation which (although not our place to discuss here) was reversed after 1707.<27>

As excellence, and self-confidence, in some Scottish-made manufactures of the period can be recognised, then the question arises whether excellence in Scottish architecture in the same period might reasonably be looked for.

Before dealing with that question, it should be noted that amidst all this industrial development, Murray is

featured. In 1619 a soap manufactory was begun at Leith by Nathaniel Uddart (son of Nicol, sometime Lord Provost of Edinburgh),^{<28>} and in 1621 the Wemyss glass works (for which a patent had been made in 1610) was visited and assessed by the Privy Council, and in each case Murray served on the committee involved in inspection of the finished product (the "Weymis .. [glass was found to be]... fullie als goode as the Dantskine [Danzig] glasse").^{<29>} Murray's presence shows that his advice was valued highly, but while he was evidently closely involved with this prevailing spirit of improvement, his own precise role in all this remains uncertain. Together with James Galloway, later Lord Dunkeld, Uddart was in 1626 given a patent on the manufacture of iron ordnance in Scotland, and they too were active in the Gairloch area, at Letterewe.^{<30>} So there are at least two periods of production of ordnance in that area in the early 17th century, and three furnaces, whose sites are still pointed out. Some of the expertise in iron-smelting was brought in by Hay from England.^{<31>} But ultimately, the point is that enterprise existed and expertise was found.

On the subject of glasswork, the roundels from Fyvie and Woodhouselee demonstrate the use still of ornamental leaded glass in architecture in 1599 and 1600 respectively.^{<32>} One of the soldiers who survived the 1612 Norwegian expedition (see chapter 6) was a glassmaker who, having "remained...[in Norway]...for some time", returned to Scotland, from whence he sent "a large

pictorial window of coloured glass" to the people who had saved him from execution.<33> The point is that Scotland in the early 17th century was a manufacturer of decorative architectural glasswork, though survival of the physical evidence of that fact has been poor.

Mining too of different substances was being exploited more systematically - coal workings are mentioned above, but minerals were providing more interest and in 1616 a patent was obtained by Archibald Primrose, who from 1611-14 held the official post of "Clerk to the Mines", to exploit the lead and copper mines in Islay (now finally under control of the crown) and some other islands. He had previously, in 1612, obtained a commision to make iron in the Sherifffdom of Perth.<34> Silver mines at Hilderstone, near Bathgate, were also being exploited, with the king retaining an interest there on terms advised by his Treasurer Depute, Sir Gideon Murray. It was doubtless the granting and encouragement of monopolies - an idea promoted by James and by Charles - which led to much of the above development.

But noting the above various improvements does not tell the whole story. William Lithgow, in his poem entitled "Scotland's Welcome to her Native Sonne and Soveraign Lord King Charles", written in honour of Charles' visit to Scotland in 1633, speaks to his monarch frankly about what Michael Spiller has described as "the distresses of Scotland, caused by an absentee aristocracy and gentry

haemorrhaging money and power steadily south.". To Spiller, this was Lithgow's "unhappy Scotland speak[ing] to her king with a colloquial bite that has lost none of its relevance in 350 years";

As for my Trades, they're ruind with decay,
There few or none imploy'd: My Nobles play
The curious Courtizan, that will not bee
But in strange fashions; O! what Noveltie
Is this? that London robbes Mee of my gaine,
Whilst both my Trades and Merchands suffer pain
...Besides my Nobles, see my Gentry too
Post up, post downe, their states for to undoe:
Nay, they will morgadge all; and to bee breefe,
Ryde up withgold, and turneagain withgreefe.
Who better far might stay at home, and live,
And not their meanes to lovelesse labour give,
It grieves Mee, I should yeeld them yeerely rent
Whilst vainely it in Neighbour Lands is spent;
But ecce homo, and behold the end,
My Lands change Land-Lords, whilst my Youngsters
spend.<35>

So on the one hand, there was imaginative creativity, investment and partnerships in industry, involving the merchant/professional classes, some of the gentry, and most significantly, the Edinburgh merchant 'elite',<36> while on the other hand there was a simultaneous disinvestment in the country, and a syphoning-off of resources which could have served the national interest. Those of the Scots aristocracy who headed south - which inevitably had to include some of the principal officers of state - were squandering wealth, much of it generated in Scotland, in London, to make an impression at the court. This money might have served a more practical purpose if it had been re-invested in Scotland, but was instead lost forever. Policies for Scotland were already seen as being made in the context of what suited England,

as illustrated by foreign policy post-1603, more particularly (in our period) that of Charles.<37>

The above-noted creativity and imagination was paralleled in other areas of life, including that of the arts. This is a fact now generally generally recognised, thanks to, for instance, the findings of historians of music such as John Purser. For musicians and composers evidently conform to the thesis of a culture of European character and quality.<38>

What was the place of architecture in this, and what was the place of the king's architect? And was there investment in architecture, or did it too suffer from resources being spent "vainely in Neighbour Lands"?

The actual loss to the country in financial resources is bound to have adversely affected the investment potential in architecture, and with the Earl of Dunbar's monument having been imported from England, a rather less, if still substantial amount of investment was lost. On the other hand, the flow was partly two-way, as George Heriot's fortune - and therefore his legacy - seems unlikely to have reached the level it did without the resources of the English crown having become available to King James and Anne, his premier patrons.

In dealing with the Enlightenment/proto-Enlightenment period, Professor MacQueen has observed that "in any

consideration of the period,...the material, the intellectual and the imaginative...must be seen as closely related; any study of the one necessarily involves the other two.".<39> The point here is that it was not only architecture which underwent a radical change in this period, and it is clear that Murray's responsibilities brought him in to a position where he had an involvement in a wide range of the new ideas as well as close contact with innovative, imaginative and intellectual people. For example, on the committee to inspect the Wemyss glassworks, he served along with Sir George Hay, founder of the iron works discussed above. And as Master Gunner, Murray might well have been judged by Hay to be worth consulting for that enterprise. (Since 1616, Hay had been a privy councillor);<40> Nathaniel Uddart, founder of the soap works, which was also visited by Murray, was himself later involved in the Loch Maree iron works, and it may be that all these three were formulating their ideas together. And the link (discussed *infra*) with his partner Anthony Alexander must have led Murray in to contact with the intellectual and literary circles of Anthony's father, Sir William Alexander, poet and politician - perhaps not in that order, as it was said by Sir Thomas Urquhart of the ambitious Sir William that 'he was born a poet, and aimed to be a king, therefore would have his royal title from King James, who was born a king, and aimed to be a poet'.<41> The intellectual life of the capital was evidently still flourishing, with the undoubted dynamism of the above-mentioned people, though perhaps in an

international context, none contributed more than 'Old Log' himself, Napier of Merchistoun, whose logarithms enabled the scientific achievements of people such as Newton to be made almost certainly much sooner than they might otherwise have been.<42>

Remembering that Murray bought 'Scottis' iron from Hay for the royal palaces, that the two worked together on the glassworks committee, and then that it was to Hay, in his capacity as Chancellor, that the royal instruction was issued to dub Murray knight, it may be that a friendship existed between the two. They shared, after all, wide-ranging abilities, appropriate to their time. When we recall Murray's friendship with William Dick (identified by Brown as one of the wealthiest of the Edinburgh 'elite'), and the association with Sir Gideon Murray and the Earls of Dunfermline and of Melrose, the circle of people with whom he operated contained a group of very powerful people.

The architecture

But while the above helps set Murray in his context, for this study it is the court style architecture of his time that particularly concerns us, and it is that which forms the central discussion in this thesis.

Earlier in Murray's lifetime there had in fact already

been seen sculptural work of a high technical standard, notably in the Scots court architecture of the mid-late 16th century - late examples including the Stirling Chapel Royal (1594), David Scougal's known monuments (viz Schaw's at Dunfermline, Kilmaurs and Ballantrae) (I am taking no account of imported, ie foreign, monuments such as the Earl of Dunbar's Monument at Dunbar, though these must have served as a yardstick). Although Scougal was obviously connected with the royal court (he is not mentioned in the surviving Accounts, emphasising how fragmentary these records are), there is little beyond the above works (the frame of the Royal arms on the Edinburgh Castle gateway and the detailing of Newark might both be added to this list) where the classical mouldings are used with such 'correctness' (unless we go back to the court style buildings of the mid 1550s - early 70s), and indeed a characteristic of the court-style buildings of Schaw's period is that the overall conception is clearly up to date and metropolitan while the ornamental stone-carving might in contrast appear to be 'local' and consequently, as a rule, is naive in comparison (a point well illustrated at, say, the external detailing of Fyvie) - though the incompleteness of Barnes and the loss of Seton makes it difficult to do more here than generalise.

That said, it is important not to underestimate the quality and the range of ornamentation which was available to courtier builders; for decorative leaded glass is noted above as used in this period. And earlier in the 16th

century, besides the royal works for James V, a few buildings of the next generation - such as the Castle (1540s and 50s work), St Mary's and Dean's Lodging gateway, all at St Andrews; Carnasserie (1560's), Mar's Lodging in Stirling (1570 and 1572 datestones) and Mary of Guise's house in Leith (1560), all identifiably related on account of the distinctive use of tall vertically-shafted detailing with complex moulded bases and capitals or by the use of delicately sculptured roundels - were of fine quality. The leaded glass window at the Magdalen Chapel, Edinburgh, and painted ornament at Kinneil, also of this period, demonstrate the quality of design and craftsmanship which was available in the different media.

What was different about the use of ornament in Murray's period of office is that the fashion had changed, and a new repertoire of ornament was used (framed roundels, for example, generally, were now no longer used on external stonework); also, the standard of sculptural ornament was - particularly in the 2nd phase - consistently of a high quality, with the buildings almost always clearly distinguishable from such as, say, the 1626 Preston Tower superstructure which, although imitative of the major court style buildings, lacks their artistry; ie, the craftsmen who worked at the latter building were aware of the latest fashion, but were not as skilled as those who worked on projects with which Murray can be linked. Also different, was the way in which interior ornament took on a new character, with decorative ceiling plasterwork,

timberwork and painted decoration - none of these features in themselves, strictly, new, but done in a different way, and to a consistently high quality. Finally - although statistics are obviously impossible - it seems that there was a much wider access to the new architecture, pointing to an increased number of craftsmen being around, presumably one result of the increasing level of building activity which can be gauged in the latter half of the previous century, though possibly William Schaw's re-organisation of the masoncraft helped establish the grounding for a higher quality of sculptural work from the next generation of masons, the results being seen at the detailing of for instance Heriot's, Winton, and most spectacularly, Greyfriars.

But before proceeding, it is first worth noticing some buildings of the period which are or were especially prominent, and yet are not of this style. Stones salvaged from the pre-Adam University of Edinburgh buildings include a 1617 dated pediment - the year of King James' visit, when he "thocht guid...to declair our speciall approbatioun" in that foundation, and which it was James' intention should become known as "King James' Colledge".^{<43>} Their ornament is evidently related to the court style group, for instance, in the way that the crown is represented, pushed hard up against the pediment apex, as was done at Murray's Linlithgow, and the surviving pediment from old Binnie House, which is also of the court style.^{<44>} But at the 'Colledge', the artistic quality of

design is not there, and so it would appear that despite the importance of the old university, as well as its being situated where the court style was centred, the work did not wholly embrace the new architecture or did not at any rate involve the top-class sculptors such as Wallace. As will be seen, new work at Glasgow College did on the other hand use this new style (if again, with differences). Study of the other buildings in this new style will make it become evident that the very rich 1634 palace range at Caerlaverock is most certainly not of this style (indeed it is difficult to relate Caerlaverock closely to much else of its period). Likewise the Palace at Culross, which if compared with the Abbey House nearby, will seem old-fashioned, with its more straightforward corbie-stepped gables and steep-pitched pediments, though the interior decoration chosen was rich and does not look out of place amongst other examples of the new architecture.

* * *

Footnotes

1. P. Hume Brown, Early Travellers, p.115
2. RPC, XII, p.292
3. RPC, XII, p.258
4. Included among the exports priced in "The Book of the Rates of Customs and Valuation of Merchandises in Scotland: A D 1612" is "Iron Ordnance", which may relate to Hay's furnace(s), though we must allow for the less likely possibility that it could refer to re-export of ordnance [cited in RPC, IX, lxix].
5. RCAHM, Argyll, I, p.346. RCAHM, Stirlingshire, I, pp.56-7 refers to bloomeries for which they assign a 17th or early 18th century date.
6. Accounts, eg pp.191,194,195; Spanish iron - p.195 - is

more rarely seen in these accounts.

7. Accounts, II, p.195

8. ibid, pp.194-5

9. Lindsay, 'The Iron Industry in the Highlands: charcoal Blast Furnaces', SHR, April 1977, p.50

10. Accounts, II, p.65

11. Accounts, II, p.67

12. Peerage, V, p.221

13. Lindsay, 'The Iron Industry', pp.49-63

14. Accounts, II, p.71

15. Peerage, V, pp.220-3

16. RPC, XI, p.306; and II (second series), p.377

17. Brown, Edinburgh Elite

18. J. Gifford, Fife, pp.320-1. Originally 13m. in height, it was reduced to half that size, and in 1886 had a crenellated parapet added.

19. RPC, XII, p.396, et seq.

20. King James VI & I, (Royal Scottish Museum Exhibition Catalogue, 1975), cat. 233

21. Geoffrey Boothroyd, 'The Birth of the Scottish Pistol', in D. Caldwell, ed., Scottish Weapons and Fortifications (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1981), pp.316, 331-2. Boothroyd was "convinced that the Scottish pistol was not so much a weapon...but a badge of rank": a particularly interesting observation, in view of Louis XIII's possessing a pair [ibid., p.335]; National Museum of Antiquities: information caption; La Vieille Alliance France-Ecosse (Paris: Fondation Mona Bismarck, 1989), cat. 5.

22. King James VI & I, 1975, cat. 228

23. ibid., cat. 229

24. ibid., cat. 230

25. ibid., cat. 227

26. ibid., cat. 196

27. See artefacts listed for instance in National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland and the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Renaissance Decorative Arts in Scotland:

1480-1650 (Edinburgh, Exhibition Catalogue, 1959). This point is to be discussed in the context of a later period by Dr. Stana Nenadic, 'Household possessions and the modernising city: Scotland c.1720-1840', Proceedings of the 11th International Economic History Congress: Milan, 1994 (Paris, forthcoming 1994)

28. For further on Uddart, see Brown, Edinburgh Elite, pp.536-7

29. RPC, XII, p.439; and see also pp.451-2.

30. Lindsay, 'The Iron Industry', p.51

31. J.H. Dixon, Gairloch and guide to Loch Maree (Edinburgh, 1886), p.77; English expertise also lay behind the 18th century Highlands ironworks such as Bonawe: cf. Richard Boyle, 17th century English ironmaster, active in Ireland [for whom see H.F. Kearney, 'Richard Boyle, Ironmaster: a footnote to Irish economic history', Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland (1983-4), pp.156-62]. The point is that here was a skill in which the English excelled.

32. The Fyvie panel bears the crest of Seton as Lord Fyvie and is dated 1599, and that from (latterly) Woodhouselee (dated 1600, and bearing the royal crest) both pre-date Murray's term in office. See G. Seton, 'Notice of four stained glass shields of arms and a monumental slab in St Magdalene's chapel, Cowgate', PSAS, XXI (1887), p.267; J.M. Gray, 'Notes on examples of old heraldic and other glass, existing in, or having connection with, Scotland: with special reference to the heraldic rondel{sic} preserved at Woodhouselee', in ibid., xxvi (1891), pp.34-48; R. Marshall, ed., Dynasty: the Royal House of Stewart (National Galleries and National Museums of Scotland, 1990), pl.55.

33. John Beveridge, 'The Scottish Expedition in Norway in 1612', PSAS, lxvii, p.222. The window eventually made its way to St Edmund's church in Oslo.

34. Lindsay, 'The Iron Industry', p.54

35. Scotland's Welcome (ll.391-6; 405-14); cited by Spiller in his 'Poetry after the Union 1603-1660', in ed. Jack (series editor Craig), The History of Scottish Literature, (AUP, 1988), vol I, p156

36. Brown, Edinburgh Elite, p.172

37. The failure of the Darien scheme is probably the most spectacular post-1603 - pre-1707 example of this, where Scotland's monarch was actually hostile to the Scottish initiative.

38. Purser, Scotland's Music, chs. VII-XII

39. J. MacQueen, Progress and Poetry: the Enlightenment and Scottish Literature (Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press, 1982), p.6

40. RPC, X, p.483

41. Quoted in J. S. Fleming, The Old Castle Vennel of Stirling and its occupants (Stirling, 1906), p.81n.

42. Napier emerges from MacQueen's 'Conclusion' in Humanism in Renaissance Scotland as one of the major figures of the period; see p.189 (last page, last sentence in the book).

43. Edin. Recs., 1604-26, p.162

44. The present Binnie house dates from about 1800. The pediment in question is re-set in the end wall of the rear wing, and points to there having been a fine house of the 1610s/20s/30s at the site, no visual record of which is otherwise known.

CHAPTER 6: THE ARCHITECTS

For more than 2 decades following William Schaw's death in 1602, the highest quality architecture followed the pattern established as the court style during his period as Master of the King's Works insofar as there was a continued tendency towards symmetricalisation, and of maintaining a Scots court architecture which was abreast of mainstream European architecture; indeed it is interesting to see from the visual evidence how earnestly Scottish architecture seeks to be definitely 'European', or international, and progressive; there is also at first a continuation of the Schaw-period architecture (as characterised by Stirling Chapel Royal, 1594),^{<1>} and marked at first by probably three major buildings, namely Culross Abbey house, the Dunfermline aisle at Dalgety and (apparently) the house built at Berwick Castle for the Earl of Dunbar. Thereafter came a break with fashion of the past generation, taking place first in about the second half of the second decade of the 17th century: at about the time King James was expected home, and characterised by the Edinburgh or Linlithgow palace blocks. And then, in about the mid-1620s, the style entered a developed stage, as characterised by, for instance, Heriot's.

David Cunninghame of Robertland

The grant by James VI to David Cunninghame of Robertland is dated at Falkland, 13 July 1602. By this, he became

...maister of thair majesties workis...the office thairof with all honouris, dignities, privileges, preheminences, feis, casualties, and deutes pertening and belangand thairto...vacand be deceis of vmquhill William Schaw last possessor thairof...With power to...use and exerce the said office...Siclyck and als frelie in all things as the...vmquhill Williame or ony utheris thair majesties maisteris of work useit and exerceit the same of before.<2>

Cunninghame was quite explicitly given Schaw's old job.<3> Schaw, as has been seen, is generally accepted as having been responsible for the design of buildings.<4> The epitaph on his monument in Dunfermline Abbey states that he 'excelled in architecture'.<5> Surely, therefore, if that is the case, Cunninghame must have designed some buildings too?

Yet almost nothing can be said regarding the architectural capabilities of David Cunningham of Robertland, for no surviving buildings are associated with or confidently attributable to him, and even his own house is long gone with little above-ground visual record other than the archaeological.<6> A single, large segmental pediment now set over a garden gate most likely relates to the time of Cunninghame the master of works, for it bears a representation of the Honours of Scotland, exceptionally well-carved, together with the royal monograms "IR" and "AR". The following, therefore, raises, rather than answers questions.

Study of his career begins with that of his father, also named David, and whose career carried an element of good luck. This elder David's spouse was Margaret Cunninghame. He appears to have taken possession of Robertland in 1566, and in 1593 he obtained a crown charter of other lands in Ayrshire.<7> in 1588, he was involved in the murder of Lord Hugo Montgomery, Earl of Eglinton, in what was yet another stage in the exceedingly long-running Cunningham/Eglinton feud.<8> Thereafter, an ordinance from the king authorised Robert, Master of Eglintoun, to take possession of the houses of Robertland and Aiket (the latter home of another branch of the Cunninghame family involved in the murder).<9> To avoid legal proceedings, Cunninghame fled to Denmark, where he was received at court, "where he remaynit at court till the King came to Queyne Anne".<10> Having evidently found favour with Anne, she demanded that he be pardoned his earlier crime, which pardon was given, and the way was therefore clear for Cunninghame to return home. "Tharefter he came hayme in the Queynis cumpany, and remaynis as ane of hir majesties maister stablers".<11> Such was the position in 1596, and the way was evidently clear for a son of someone of Cunninghame's status to be in turn shown royal favour - especially if he too had spent time at the Danish Court, when young, with his father.

But we have no evidence of Cuninghame the younger's early years. On 14 February 1597, he, together with Jean Cunninghame his spouse, obtained a charter of the lands of

Watterland, Aiket and Hessilbank.<12> It is presumably this David who in 1599 was described as 'takisman of the teinds of Kilmaris', along with the laird of Craigens.<13>

It is clear that architecture was evidently regarded as a gentlemanly pursuit.<14> Thus, an architectural knowledge and interest might easily have formed part of Cunninghame's education; but there is no evidence.

It has been shown that David Scougall, the mason burgess of Crail who in 1600 signed his Kilmaurs monument was almost certainly responsible for the Eglinton monument in Ballantrae, and, more significantly, the William Schaw monument at Dunfermline.<15> This suggests the possibility of it having been the younger Cunninghame, through some as yet subordinate association with the royal works, who obtained Scougall's services in the West. In turn, this raises the question of whether Cunninghame might have designed any or all of these monuments; but again, there is not the slightest evidence either way.

Cunninghame the younger's career continued its ascendancy; he was one of the few Scots promoted by James in England with the gift of offices there, and for some two years, between 1604-6, he also occupied the corresponding position in England (ie Surveyor of the Works).<16> On the face of it, that would seem to be a hugely significant appointment, as a statement of James' intentions regarding the course which English architecture should take. But in

fact, "that [he] made any impression on the Works...is more than doubtful" was the conclusion reached by the authors of the History of the Kings' Works.<17> In this view, they follow Girouard: "Sir David Cunningham of Robertland, whom James I had brought down from Scotland in 1603, would seem to have been only a place-holder..."<18>

We can but speculate upon his short tenure in England: perhaps the "Scotophobia" which brought widespread resentment against those promoted after 1603, in the belief that they were monopolising the royal favour, and which helped see off the bulk of the huge number of Scots who initially went south, was the reason for this,<19> but any one of a range of other reasons that suggest themselves might also be plausible - from, perhaps, incompetence (perhaps his father having been master stabler he knew more about horses than architecture) to jealousy (plausible, in view of the foregoing), to ill-health (he died soon after returning home). In the context of a 'Scoticising' English court, the idea of a Scots architect wanting to build Scots-type buildings for the English court would be unlikely to be well-received by English courtiers; for while English culture has traditionally been warmly receptive to the skills of foreign artists (cf Van Dyke, Adam, Gibbs, Campbell, Handel, etc.) a Scots architect might, during this brief period of a Scots ascendancy culture, be considered unacceptable, and a likely target for vilification; and perhaps the recent re-organisation of masoncraft by Schaw,

if promoted by Cunninghame, produced a feeling among the English aristocracy that something sinister was involved.

Although the reason for his leaving the English post after such a short tenure in office is not known, it should be noted that his New Year gift to King James in 1606 was "a platt of an upright" [ie an elevation drawing],^{<20>} which demonstrates his having the ability to produce architectural designs of his own: designs, in fact, of which he was evidently proud, and surely in execution at least competent, if he dared present it to a king with James' artistic interests, and (as noted) a king who had brought him to England to oversee the royal building programme there. James would surely not have wished to see his English courtiers having reason to look down upon a fellow-Scot who was also one of James' personal nominees.

In a grant of land to his heir dated 18 January 1614, Cunninghame is referred to as "architecti regnii lie maister of work...",^{<21>} and it can be noted that the latin term 'architect[us]' was used both of Schaw,^{<22>} and - frequently - of Murray,^{<23>} a term which is surely quite telling? He surrendered office in England, though retained the Scottish post until his death in September 1607. (He died in Ayrshire, presumably while staying at home in Robertland)^{<24>} In the latter year, after only about 5 years in office he was in turn succeeded by James Murray younger whose period in office in Scotland saw the emergence of this new court style.^{<25>} In England,

Cunninghame was replaced in post by Simon Basil.<26>

Notwithstanding the above, there are two buildings in which Cunninghame may have had an involvement: the banqueting house at Whitehall, London (which was replaced by Jones' better-known survivor), and work at Ampthill. These two compositions are the only ones which the authors of the King's Works allow might have involved Cunninghame in some way, but one interesting point is that their architecture in each case, in terms of contemporary England, was set aside from the norm in that they were evidently forward-looking; the latter described as "for 1603[sic: recte 1605] a remarkably classical conception, but amateurishly rendered...",<27> the former as "a rather advanced plan".<28> This would be consistent with work by an architect from a country in which the classical tradition had found an earlier expression than it had in England, and might therefore reinforce the suggestion that Cunninghame might legitimately be regarded as the common factor here. The plan of the banqueting house shows columns around the perimeter (suggesting a gallery - as Jones was to do in his replacement building, minus columns):<29> though not till Burlington's York Assembly rooms was a colonnaded inside perimeter again seen on either side of Tweed; the idea was of course published by Palladio,<30> and earlier, by, for instance, Alberti.<31> It also has what seem to be orthodox English-looking (to be expected, given the location), square bay windows but little that can be related to Scots work.

Amphill was to be made into a hunting centre for England's new king, their James I: suggesting the idea to have possibly been a Scots initiative, given the Stewart kings' fondness of hunting, in contrast with the late and elderly Queen Elizabeth's lack of interest. From the experiences of, for instance, Falkland, or Huntingtower, the king's Scots architect would of course have known exactly what the royal requirements for such a building would have been, in a way that an English counterpart might not. The royal instruction was issued in a letter of 1605 from the English Lord Treasurer (Earl of Dorset) to the officers of the works, with specific instructions to the "Surveyor" (and the comptroller) to "viewe and Survey" the place (Thorpe was also sent a similar version of this letter). The editors of the Kings Works concede that the Surveyor at this time was Cunninghame, but they cleave to their previous position,<32> that his "active participation in the Works was somewhat dubious",<33> and they go on to express what they see as the likelihood that Simon Basil, at that time the comptroller, and who was to succeed to the Surveyorship in the following year "was the man to whom Dorset would look for the implementation of his orders". Again, they here follow Girouard.<34>

If first Girouard, and then the Kings' Works editors, have established to their own satisfaction Cunninghame's lack of design input, they have failed to articulate sufficiently their reasoning. We, therefore, are bound to have an open-minded view, which therefore allows for the

possibility of the instructions issued having been aimed de facto at the person targetted, and the resultant scheme a straightforward result of this.

Use at Aikett of what is here termed a 'Culross-type' pediment (on undated work) might point to design work by Cunninghame (given the above-noted kin link with the house, plus arguments made below relating to pediment form);^{<35>} and the same might be said of work at the (apparently) symmetrical-fronted Clonbeith, a house dated 1607.^{<36>}

Nichols' reference of 'Sir David Coningham de Coninghame' having been one of those knighted at Royston on 1st April, 1604, probably refers to Robertland, the only Scotsman among 22 in total who were that day knighted.^{<37>}

Ultimately, we have to pass by Robertland without being able to assess with any measure of certainty his contribution to the continuing court architecture, and without knowing whether or not he was an architect of any consequence. In view of Cunninghame's rank as king's architect in both Scotland and in England, It seems reasonable to ask whether the authors of the King's Works may have been in error when on the one hand they dismissed Cunninghame so readily, on the basis of unpersuasive argument, whilst they simultaneously found remarkable in an English context two designs, both of which evidently had some association with him. It seems reasonable, too,

to suggest that Cunninghame had an influence upon Murray which would have found expression in the buildings produced by the latter (perhaps, for instance, it was in some measure Danish court architecture which the Scots court architecture had an eye to, if the younger Cunninghame had visited his father there and passed ideas onto Murray), and so from the point of view of a study of Murray, Cunninghame's career is probably significant, even if at present little beyond the above can be said about him.

Murray versus Wallace

In their preamble to the published Accounts of the Masters of Works covering this period, Dunbar and Imrie assembled and presented for the first time many of the basic relevant facts regarding Murray and the highest quality architecture of the period. They saw too that he was the 'hero' (their term, their inverted commas) of their published work on these accounts.<38>

The name of William Wallace, King's Master Mason, had been recognised last century as being significant, but Dunbar and Imrie were first to point out that Murray's own role in the construction of these buildings was substantial, even allowing (though they did not go that far) that it might be argued as being of greater significance than Wallace's, concluding that Murray's designation as "King's

Architect" was "evidently no empty title"; ie that as a man with practical experience in building and unambiguously documented (in territory near devoid of such specific references) as a designer of a major public building (The Parliament House), he was more than a lay administrator in the way that a medieval master of works often was; but they still viewed Wallace as a skilled designer, and as being very likely responsible in great measure for overall design.<39> This thesis builds on the probability - if not, as the evidence, so far as it can be described as being in any way conclusive strongly indicates, the near-certainty - that Murray was the dominant architectural figure in this period, responsible for the introduction of a sophisticated architecture which was accompanied by a new and extremely high quality of sculptural craftsmanship and of ornament, with top-class craftsmen such as Wallace whom he selected for employment - on the one hand, continuing within the tradition established as the Court style during Schaw's time in office (ie with the emphasis on symmetry, the 1st floor 2/3-room suite) and on the other hand, producing an architecture which was new, based on an amalgam of North European and English influences in combination with features traditionally Scottish, and adjusted to suit Scottish requirements.

But as Dunbar has been responsible for so much work of the highest quality, one is obviously not going to lightly challenge any view he has formed, it being obvious from

his writings that he is exceedingly scrupulous and scholarly in his approach. So why, despite describing Murray as the 'hero' in these accounts, did he reach the view he did about Wallace? And why do I presume to challenge it?

William Wallace

To deal with this, we have to review the literature on Wallace; and MacGibbon and Ross, almost predictably, is our starting point. They note Murray's practical involvement in building works, noting too his elevated status and that he is designated on one document (evidently the Register of the Great Seal) as "architectus noster".^{<40>} Wallace, on the other hand, they are more interested in; they track his earlier career as master mason and 'carver', and note his name being associated both with Heriot's and with Winton - two of the most celebrated buildings of their age. With regard to the former, they concur with the assessment of David Laing (whom they cite), declaring that "there can be almost no doubt that William Wallace was the practical architect and master mason";^{<41>} that he was the last of these is certainly documented. Regarding Winton, MacGibbon and Ross conclude that evidence has persuaded them that "he [ie Wallace] acted as architect...".^{<42>} These references date from the 1880s, but Wallace's name had been picked up earlier; most significantly, perhaps, in Steven's Memoir

of George Heriot, published in 1845.<43> Steven - who had looked at some early records - identified Wallace as master mason,<44> and actually states, on the basis of nil documentary evidence, that the architect of Heriot's was Inigo Jones - a suggestion which led to a debate on the building's authorship.<45> Steven in fact claims to be relaying a tradition, when giving Jones' name.<46> On the one hand, that is very interesting, given what is discussed below about the relationship between the royal works in the two kingdoms; and if more were known about the precise relationship of the people involved, then we might be some way towards explaining why that tradition arose. But on the other hand, lacking any evidence of this tradition pre-dating the 19th century, it looks as though it is best discarded in the same way amateur references to "Adam", or "Mackintosh" are commonly assigned to middle grade late Georgian or art nouveau buildings.<47> Similar 'myths' grew up over the West Highland late medieval carved slabs, viz. that all or most came from Iona - not the case.<48>

The question of who was architect of these early 17th century buildings also engaged the mind of the Rev R S Mylne, in his Master Masons,<49> though as he was concerned with pointing to the achievements, real or otherwise,<50> of the Mylne dynasty, he devoted less effort to this wider question than he might have otherwise done. Mylne noted Murray's role as king's master of works, but chose not to elevate him in his readers' perception;

his aim was not to eulogise others who might be suspected of outranking John Mylne in terms of prominence. In dealing with Wallace, Mylne does not make any improbable claims on his behalf. He notes his official post, and his employment at the various royal works, and refers to Dr David Laing's having credited Wallace with the "entire...design" of Heriot's, going on to show that another reference, to Balcanqual having produced a "pattern" meant this interpretation did not tell the whole story.<51> If the story of Wallace being the premier architect of his day is a myth, then it was not the myth which R S Mylne was interested in propagating - he had one of his own.

Another of the principal texts to draw attention to Wallace and what may or may not have been his role was a Country Life article on Winton by Laurence Weaver, published in 1912.<52> Weaver drew attention to the existence of a manuscript book of accounts of the 3rd Earl of Winton, which had been insufficiently considered by architectural historians when extracts were published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1871. Weaver showed that work on Winton was "being finished" in 1627, "[leaving] Wallace free to start on [Heriot's] in 1628".<53> Wallace had evidently been employed as Master Mason at Heriot's, and also employed by the Earl of Winton; but in the "taking doune" of the Earl's old house in the Canongate - his name is not mentioned in connection with the Earl's new house at Winton; but (it was argued)

perhaps he was engaged at both? These were the basic facts which led Weaver to conclude that "while...[there was]...an element of doubt" (ie with regard to whether or not Wallace was actually employed at Winton), "it seems safe to conclude that Wallace served the Earl in Edinburgh and at Winton both as architect and builder, the two functions being generally merged at that period. Wallace, by his work at Heriot's Hospital, and also, as we may suppose, at Winton, must have had considerable influence on the design of his day."<54>

In fact, Weaver was conforming to accepted wisdom in his article; he gives the impression of having re-read the documentation,<55> and the name of Wallace was already well-known, and his (putative) importance too; all that was left was to "prove" that he was all that historians wanted him to have been. That evidence was insufficient to make the case conclusive was no barrier to promotion of the argument.

Perhaps that is unfair, because people were anxious to latch on to someone's name; the English, after all had the very remarkable Inigo Jones, and from search of the available documentation of who was Scotland's leading architect of the time, Wallace's was the only name that looked likely. And what Scottish historian could lightly pass over someone whose name was that of the great Guardian of Scotland?

The belief, expressed above by Weaver, that the functions of architect and builder were "generally merged" was evidently by no means inaccurate.<56> The question for us is to ask whether, or how far, the king's master of works was the exception to this general arrangement.

In 1947, Sheila Forman, who wrote widely on historic Scots houses, had captioned a photograph "WINTON HOUSE, EAST LOTHIAN 'Scottish Renaissance.' Designer, William Wallace, 1620", while in her text, she refers to Wallace as "...the first known Scottish designer to emerge from anonymity...".<57> Evidently, she was of the view that Wallace was the architect responsible for the design of that house.

Dunbar's two editions of what remains the standard work on the history of Scottish architecture (1st pub 1966; revised edition 1978) pointed to Wallace as a significant figure.<58> Characteristically scrupulous, Dunbar did not go beyond stating what the available facts permitted, observing that his "evident skill as a carver may have been matched by his proficiency as a deviser of buildings".<59>

Summerson was initially cautious: "we must not assume that William Wallace was necessarily the chief agent in the change in style...after 1615, but he is certainly the representative figure...".<60> But then, he relaxes: regarding Heriot's, he declares that "Wallace is rightly

regarded as the real architect";^{<61>} and later, he refers to "the tradition initiated by Wallace".^{<62>} Indeed, he suggests that, from the time of Wallace, "it looks as if the dignity of the office increased as that of Master of Works declined."^{<63>}

Most recently, Dr Howard, in her contribution to Les Chantiers de la Renaissance, observes that "The most notable master mason of the early 17th century was William Wallace...".^{<64>} This wording is – perhaps intentionally – ambiguous, but suggests (as no architect's name is mentioned) the belief held by the author when that lecture was delivered that Wallace was designer of the top flight of these major buildings.

To Kemp and Farrow, the Linlithgow north quarter "may be the work of William Wallace...one of the earliest figures in Scotland who can be justifiably described as an 'architect' in the Renaissance sense of the term."^{<65>} And then, "Wallace's masterpiece is George Heriot's...".^{<66>}

Predictably then, in a, frankly, worthless account of Scottish architecture in the Renaissance period (by someone who simply ought not to have accepted the commission), the book – indeed the concept – a victim of the 'England = Britain, Scotland = Yorkshire' school of English history, Wallace was presented as the outstanding figure.^{<67>} This image is firmly ingrained.

Finally, Historic Scotland information panels installed at Linlithgow Palace as recently as 1993 ignore or dismiss the possibility of Murray's role being perhaps significant in terms of architectural design, and still confidently present Wallace as responsible for the design of the North quarter: 'This elegant facade [that is, the courtyard front] in the Renaissance style was the work of William Wallace.'⁶⁸ In the minds of some, in this country, in the few years around 1620, royal palace design was the responsibility of a master mason. In contemporary England, such work was done by a surveyor, or architect: which brings us back to the problem of the literature outlined in chapter 1. The implication conveyed by this interpretation is that England was sophisticated, with a 'real' architect; Scotland was not, and had not.

So, some writers happily accepted Wallace's role as pre-eminent; others were more guarded.

But perhaps we should note the fact that Dunbar's text for the Accounts, though published in 1982, was in fact written in the 1960s.⁶⁹ The term "hero" used of Murray relates really to his constantly being about, being important and busy, and submitting and signing important receipts: that is, much as in a 40s-50s film, we keep expecting the hero's arrival on screen, which of course always happens - so with Murray's name on these accounts.

Of Wallace, and of his background, little is known. In

accounts for 1615, William Wallace was described as a "carver in stone" and was relatively highly paid, at £1 per day, probably the highest paid operative in these surviving accounts for royal works, setting him apart as someone special, presumably on account of his expertise at sculptural work (cf John Ritchie, master mason at Parliament House in 1632, also on £6 per week).<70> In 1616, he was the only one in a list of 15 masons carrying a further designation - that of "carver" - and he was still the highest paid among them; still paid vi lib. for 6 days (one week) work. Walter Murray, Overseer, was, in the latter account, paid only v lib. over the same period.<71>

Thereafter, a significant thing: on 18th April, 1617, 'William Wallace scottisman maissoun' was promoted. Thus, '[O]ur...Souerane lord with advyse of the lordis of his hienes privie Counsale making constituting and ordaining the said Williame Wallace his hienes principall maister massoun to all his Maties. master warkis within this Realme of Scotland...during all the dayis of his lyfetye'. He was to be given 'Ten pundis scottis...in name of fie...monthly...during all the dayis of his lyfetye...'.<72>

This document of appointment relates Wallace's appointment to that of 'Johne Roytell Frencheman principall maister maissoun to all his hienes warkis concerning the aucupation during all the dayis of his lyfetye', and

refers to the latter having obtained 'ane certane fie for exercising of the said office. And that be his deceis the said office is now vacant...'.<73>

The implication is that some of the privy council had seen Wallace's work and thus had reason to express confidence in his sufficiency for the post. In this context, Mylne tells us that Wallace had done work at Pinkie, for Chancellor Seton,<74> but he could well have worked for others in the council prior to this appointment being made. For salary, Wallace was given "the sum of Ten pundis scottis money in name of fie to be payit monthly to him all the dayis of his lyfetye...".<75> That is, £120 per annum: which can be compared with James Murray's salary initially of 500 merks, or £333 per annum (as opposed to £300 that Sir William Bruce was given in the latter half of the century; while Smith was given only £100 p.a.).<76>

Wallace owed his position to Murray directly.

"Becauss...Wallace efter sufficient tryell tane be James Murray his Majesties maister of wark anent the qualificatioun of the said Williame to use and exercise the said office He is fund able and qualefeit to use and exerce the samen sufficientlie".<77>

The fact that it was Murray who selected and recommended Wallace for appointment has been overlooked by most authors, and has not been considered by the others. The appointment was based on Wallace's 'guid trew and

thankfull service done to his hienes...[at]...the
reparatioun of his Maties. castell of Edinburgh and palice
of Halyrudhous and utheris his Maties. warkis And his
Matie. being willing that the said Williame continue in
his said service...'.<78> Wallace - a master mason who was
also a carver - was therefore to continue in service, as
before. The document does not suggest that Wallace was, or
was to become, an architect responsible for the design of
royal palaces. Indeed, available evidence suggests that
his contribution might have been less in terms of planning
and overall concept, more in, perhaps, design and
execution of detail; and this, indeed, is one of the main
thrusts of argument in this study.

Because Wallace's name, together with the names of Mylne
and Aytoun (though people such as John Richie may not have
been significantly less important), were recognised long
ago, researchers since have kept a watch out for their
names. Now that Murray's name has been focussed upon for
the first time, perhaps future documentary researchers
will pick up his name as being worthy of note - and we
will then get a clearer idea of his precise significance.
Until then, we have to get by with what can be found out
at the moment.

* * *

Sir James Murray of Kilbaberton

The known facts about Murray's professional background are that he first appears in connection with the royal works on 11th May 1594, when he ('James Murray wricht') was despatched to Leith from Stirling to "mak pryce of samekill tymmer [= timber] as the said James sall think expedient for the Kings Maties. Wark in Stirling" (presumably The Chapel Royal, rebuilt in that year for the baptism of Prince Henry).^{<79>} In the Accounts of the Masters of Works, he is first on record as a wright in 1599, H.M. Master Wright in 1601, and 'master oversear and attendar over all his hienes workis of reparatioun and building within the realm of Scotland' on 20th July 1605 (which post was surrendered in his favour by his father, just as later in the century John Mylne elder resigned his office in favour of his son). Thereafter, he was on 26th December 1607 appointed 'principall master of all his majesties warkis and buildingis within Scotland', which post he retained until his death in 1634.^{<80>} He appears on record in connection with royal works slightly earlier, as in April 1597, there is payment to "James Murray wrycht...for transporting of xxviii deir that came fra England fra Leyth to the park of Falkland in cairtis".^{<81>} By that year, then, he was evidently entrusted with tasks other than straightforward joinery, suggesting that his position was a favoured one. Murray's father, and namesake, was a master wright in the royal works before him, and when on 4th May 1601 the latter was appointed 'oversear and attendar of all his majesteis warkis of reparationis' etc, the former was made 'principall maister

wricht and gunner ordinar', on demission of the office by the father.<82> (Murray the elder's career is discussed below.)

But in these early days of Murray the younger's career he was nonetheless still involved in joinery work, as in June 1601, when he (as "master wricht") received payment "in tyme of my Lord Lowdounes erectioun to be saittis and skaffellis within the palice of Halierudhous an hundreth daillis".<83> In January 1603, payment was made to "James Murray maister wricht for tymber daillis naillis and for his workmanschip in making of the barier quhairin the...Italiene [Daniel Archdeacon] and Francis Mowbray suld have fouchin the singill combat.<84> In March 1603, payment was made to "James Murray younger for making of daskis and saittis about the pulpet in the chapell of Halierudhous",<85> and in the next month he appears again in these accounts "Item payit and delyverit be his hienes speciall command and directioun to James Murray younger for certaine bilyardis and bilyard bowles furnisit be him to his hienes awne use".<86> Thus, he was by 1601-3 entrusted with carrying out carpentry work for the crown, and the work at Holyroodhouse must have been of high technical and artistic (if not sculptural) quality or else it would have been unacceptable. Also, we learn from the last reference, that he had already registered some sort of favour with the king, to bring about a payment to him by "special command". By 1601, his career was evidently in the ascendant, and by 1603, it had taken off.

On 10th July 1612, Murray, together with his then spouse, Martha Murray, was granted a charter of novodamus of the lands of Kilbaberton, upon which he subsequently built his own house: which still survives, now known as Baberton House - with 1622 and 1623 datestones, and bearing both his initials and those of Katharine Weir, who was his second wife.<87> On 2nd May 1614, he obtained from the king the right which William Schaw had formerly held to be 'agrear with all the warkmen' (or presentor of the ordinary craftsmen), omitted from the 1607 grant; which rights were confirmed by Charles I in May 1628.<88> His appointment to the mastership of works was ratified by Charles I in 1625,<89> and in 1629 he was conjoined in post - though retaining the seniority - with Sir Anthony Alexander, second son of the Earl of Stirling (who was by then one of the country's most prominent politicians, one-time friend of James VI, promoted in Charles' "re-shuffle" of his Scottish administration).<90>

In 1632, on Charles being 'informed of the qualitie and sufficiencie of our trusty and weilbelouit' James Murray, 'and of his affection to doe ws good service ther' the order was on 'last July 1632' sent to 'dub him knyght according to the vse and custome of that antient kingdome observed in the lyke caices'. (Perhaps Charles heard also how large a sum owed by him to Murray.) The ceremony, eventually carried out on 14th July 1633, was performed not by Chancellor Hay, to whom the instruction was sent, but by Charles himself. It took place at Seton Palace,

which building had been added to by William Schaw, and was reconstructed in Murray's period of office, possibly to Murray's design.<91>

An interesting thing is that Murray made the step from artisan (if, confessedly, in the royal works) to gentry (although he was, as will be seen, himself connected to minor gentry). This was, so far as is known, unlike any of his predecessors, and a circumstance not repeated until - in a perhaps more rapidly changing society - the uniquely qualified James Smith was given the job (Bruce having fallen from favour) in 1683, making the same step from one-time artisan, to king's architect.<92>

Besides the above, Murray was on 25 January 1628 granted by the town council of Edinburgh a tack of the parsonage and vicarage teinds of Baberton and Whitelaw ("Quhytlaw") in the parish of Currie, for a period of 19 years.<93>

Murray became wealthy. He was one of the Edinburgh 'elite': defined by Brown as any person paying over three times the average payment, in a sample of stent rolls for Edinburgh.<94> Of the 310 persons who comprise Brown's definition of 'elite', only 38 were not specifically merchants who shared in the thriving commercial trade centred in Edinburgh, and upon whose wealth the country in great measure depended. Murray, by the time of his death, collected £496 13s. 4d. p.a. from property rented in Edinburgh. William Dick, who was one of the wealthiest

merchants in the land, was described as his friend.<95>

We have some basic personal details. He evidently had a fiery character, as on 15 September 1608 the Privy Council had "James Murray, son of James Murray Master Wright....committed to ward in the Castle of Edinburgh for drawing a whinger (=short stabbing sword) to Finla Tailliour within the Abbey Close of Haliruidhous".<96> Tailliour was a bailie of the Canongate, and there is no record of why Murray acted thus; but this suggests a strong personality, behaviour and character closer to that of the bloody James Hamilton of Finnart, a predecessor in post (ex. 1540), than to that of any modern-day Edinburgh architect. In this last reference he is not referred to as Master of Works but is instead identified as "son of James Murray, master wright", suggesting that the question arose of perhaps reconsidering his suitability for that office. It was in fact an offence close to being of the most enormous gravity, and every bit as well Murray had not committed the offence within the palace, for King James VI, always mindful of his personal security, had in 1593 made it the law that to draw a weapon within the palace itself constituted treason. This law was most certainly to be respected, for in 1627 the death sentence was served on the unfortunate John Young, a "poultrieman" in the Canongate; though he had gone two stages further than Murray had, by wounding his victim, and by committing that act within the palace.<97>

While in ward at the castle for this offence, Murray would have most likely come into contact with Sir James MacDonald of Islay, held captive there since 1603, and as a knight, of approximately the social rank with whom Murray would have been rated.<98> As Sir James appears to have been awaiting his chance of escaping to reclaim his old territories in both the Scottish and the Irish Gaidhealteachd and seek to re-establish the Lordship of the Isles by military force, he would doubtless have been interested in whatever skills Murray had in fortifications. When Sir James eventually did escape, in 1614, Murray as Master Gunner was - as will be seen - responsible for signing over the military supplies which were to help defeat the Islay rebellion, though he does not appear to have joined in the campaign, which was headed by the reluctant Earl of Argyll and Lord Ochiltree.<99>

The action taken against Murray was of course much less serious than against poor Young, whose offence was more grave; and the view taken of Murray's case by the Council suggests that they did not necessarily regard Murray as having been especially wrong or wronged; the next mention of this case in the Register, on 29 September, refers, firstly, to "Patrik Somervail, merchant, burgess of Edinburgh and Thomas Baxter in the Cannogait" on behalf of Murray (who is once more given his title), called to answer before the Privy Council on the 3rd November next, to answer for the "contempt" done by Murray in

"pursuing... Tailyeour ...with a drawn whinger in the Abbey Close of Holyruidhouse...". A sum of £1000 was required, and Murray was ordered not to harm the former "in time coming".<100> But the next business of the Council that day was to similarly require of "Johnne Bannatyne in Leith, for Finla Tailyeour...£1000, not to harm James Murray, master of work."<101>

Neither do we know the background to the dispute he had with his masons when on 16th November 1619, "Johnne Serves, maissonne, wes committit to wairde within the Tolbuithe of Edinburgh for his misbehaviour to James Murray, Maister of Worke", while the same day "the rest of the maissonis" (of whom there were 10) "wer commandit to attend the maister of worke and to serve in his Majesteis workis upoun suche conditionis as ...[he]... will mak unto thame...".<102> Whether Murray was wronged by his workmen, whether he had provoked them by high-handed behaviour, or whether this was an unfortunate result of Murray being required to press-gang masons into royal service (for that had happened in the past) cannot at present be judged.

He had another disagreement with a tradesman which was sufficiently important for the dispute to have gone to the Privy Council. This was in 1617, when preparation was underway - if not frantic - in anticipation of King James' visit. There was a genuine pleasure at the king's "hamecoming", combined with a determination to create a favourable impression of Scotland to the expected train of

English nobility. Murray had "aggreit with Johnne Andersoun, painter, to have painted some chalmeris in the Castell of Edinburgh, and, he haveing promeist to haif enterit to the said worke ... he hes not onlie failyeet [= failed] in that point, bot by ane idill and frivolous excuise ... he seames to pretend some impediment ...". It was made clear to Anderson that he had to make progress. Anderson had been bound previously for Falkland Palace, but had been delayed in coming from Strathbogie [= Huntly], where he had been in the service of the Marquis of Huntly, and that had doubtless got him off on a wrong footing in his new employment. His failure to be at Falkland when expected was most likely Huntly's fault, for the Privy Council book of processes notes an act to charging Huntly "to dimitt Andersone, painter..". The threats on both occasions from the Council appear to have induced Anderson to start work.<103> The surviving paintwork in the room in which James was born is presumed to be by him.<104>

In 1617, Murray took a complaint to the Privy Council against John MacAdam, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, who remained unrelaxed from hornings of 1612 for not paying 2000 merks of principal and £200 of expenses (= interest). The "pursuer appearing by Thomas Eleis" (?advocate), and the defender failing to turn up, the latter was to be apprehended by the captain of the guard and his houses seized and inventoried for the crown's use.<105>

But the picture that emerges of Murray is of a man who was not to be taken advantage of, strong-willed, and ready to take the sternest measures against people when necessary.

His religious alignment is not known, but as he owed his position to loyal service given him to the crown, he is unlikely to have been, for instance, radically presbyterian. As he was responsible for the design of the new parliament house in 1632, he may also have been involved in the removal of partitioning within St Giles' to create the Episcopal cathedral which Charles wished to have - an operation linked with the erection of the parliament house.<106> But, reinforcing (perhaps not by far) our suspicions, we have the suggestion that he conformed to the ecclesiastical innovations of James, for Calderwood, in speaking of the unrest caused by these innovations (The Five Articles of Perth, pushed through the 1618 General Assembly, ratified in the 1621 Parliament) informs us that in Easter 1622 there was dissension in the Old Kirk (the SW quarter of St Giles congregation) of Edinburgh, and that "Among all the two hundreth and fiftie [communicants] ther was not a man of honest countenance but the President [Earl of Melrose, of whom infra], Sir William Oliphant (the Advocate), Sir Henry Wardlaw, the Provost, the Deane of Gild, Dame Dick and the Maister of Warks wife, and two bailies (who communicate not)...".<107> (Having already noticed that James Murray and William Dick were friends, perhaps friendship bound the two wives together also, as

Calderwood put their names side by side.) Probabilities aside, Murray and his wife might have taken different views from one another on the matter, so this reference leaves us little the wiser about him. Murray was possibly at service and refusing to kneel, or possibly elsewhere that Easter. Calderwood is unlikely to be suggesting that Murray himself was not "of honest countenance" – his point in telling this story was a propagandist one, to show how few of what anyone might have regarded as reasonable people were actually conforming.

The records of the parish of Holyroodhouse (subsequently, after James VII/II in 1688 made the abbey church into the chapel royal, the Canongate) note on 2nd December 1604 the marriage of James Murray "master of Work to His Majestie" (seemingly premature use of this nomenclature is discussed at the end of this chapter), and "Martha Murray in Edinburgh".<108>

A mortification panel in the Canongate Kirk, recording the bequest of '1000 markes' by Murray (left to the kirk session – belatedly, in 1658) "the rent [=interest ?] thereof to the mr [=master] of the gramer Sihcole" tells us that he retained a connection with that congregation too – he had in fact been married there in 1604 to his first (known) wife, though perhaps the link was strengthened after his 1633 reconstruction of the Abbey church – which was the parish church of the Canongate – for Charles' coronation.<109> Possibly, though, the family

link was stronger than this suggests, for on 18th January 1627, Murray's daughter Marjorie was married there to William Govane, 'feiar of Cardron, ane of ye parochin of ye Kirk of Kailza...'.<110>

In 1611 he was reportedly to accompany the Lord Chancellor (the Earl of Dunfermline) and Lord Advocate (Sir Thomas Hamilton, affectionately nick-named by King James "Tam o' the Cowgate", and latterly and less affectionately, "Auld Melrose") on their way to court, on the route via Berwick. Perhaps Murray was going no further than Berwick, as he had been building a house there for the Earl of Dunbar, and he was (although he may not yet have known it) about to be consulted with regard to the proposed new stone bridge there.<111> We learn from this reference too that he was "honest" and "of a notable Ingenious speritt", but it is interesting that he should be in the company of such influential political figures - particularly the first of these who was Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline, whose family were the major patrons of the court style architecture; Fyvie had been built for him in the 1590s, perhaps by William Schaw, and in Murray's period, Pinkie and the family aisle at Dalgety were built for him; Winton & Seton were built or, in the latter case, added to, for Dunfermline's brother, and, it will be seen, all these 17th century works can be linked with Murray. Hamilton too, and several of his family can also be associated with buildings of the court style, as will be seen.

These two great political figures were evidently on friendly terms with Murray, and indeed, it should be noted at this stage how powerful a factor in the Scottish administration was the close relationships – through blood, marriage or simply friendship – between a remarkably close-knit group, in a society which was still to a significant degree kin-based.<112> Virtually all the individual patrons in this study were major figures, known to one another, often connected with one another in some way or ways, few, perhaps, more so than Dunfermline himself.<113>

In 1613 Murray, with his wife Martha, was engaged in legal dispute with Sir William MacLellan of Auchleane and others,<114> and in the next year he was involved in dispute pursued by James McCulloch contra Patrick Nemo and Walter Scot, where Murray had made assignation of 2000 merks to Henry McCulloch cautioner to Murray for the Tutor of Bombie.<115> In 1617, he had another complaint before the Privy Council, that John MacAdam, merchant burgess in Edinburgh, remained unrelaxed from hornings (= outlawing) of 1612, for debts due and yet still unpaid (MacAdam had been one of Auchleane's cautioners); and action was ordered to be taken against MacAdam to recover the debt.

Murray was of the family of Murray of Falahill and Traquair, in Peeblesshire, of whom sprang the Murray's of Elibank, of Blackbarony and of Deuchar.<116> He was married at least twice. His spouse, as shown, was in 1613

still Martha Murray, but she was already dead when the above-mentioned complaint of 1617 was made.<117> In the early 1620s he built his own house at Kilbaberton (now called Baberton), when his initials were set along with those of his then spouse, Katherine Weir. Katherine was a daughter of Cornelius Weir, burgess of Edinburgh.<118> He had at least two sons, George and James, and the above-mentioned daughter, Marjorie.<119> James was in 1632, on the recommendation of the two Masters of Works, granted the position of master overseer of the King's works, along with William Govane of Cardrona, Kilbaberton's son-in-law and (as seen) Marjorie's spouse. George appears to have held Malleny House for a time, which is close by to Kilbaberton.<120> Dame Katherine herself subsequently remarried, to Sir Patrick Murray Lord Elibank, kinsman of her previous husband, and the son of Sir Gideon Murray, Privy Councillor and sometime involved in the offices of "Theasaurie, Comptrollarie and Collectorie".<121> Sir Gideon had in fact been Depute Treasurer of Scotland, a post equivalent in effect to that of treasurer.<122> Sir Gideon had evidently assisted Kilbaberton in his career, as is seen from a letter dated 22nd August, 1616, when he tells that 'As for the Comptrollarie of the Ordinance...I... disposed the office to my nevoy [=nephew] James Murray...',<123> though as familial terms were used in the period as terms rather of affection, or as distant kin, use of the term here is not necessarily evidence of the men being closely related, though it certainly indicates a close friendship. Dame Katherine was,

remarkably, Elibank's 5th wife (the Earl of Dunfermline also had a succession of wives - ie such was not unusual for nobility at that time). Her son (also, latterly at least, Sir) James Murray, later of Kilbaberton, married Isobel, daughter of Elizabeth Dundas, 4th wife of the same Lord Elibank, on 25th April, 1644.<124> He was afterwards of Cavens, in Kirkcubrightshire, which lands he held in 1664. He died in 1675, leaving issue 1)George (who succeeded on James death, died 1699, seemingly unmarried), 2)Katherine, 3)Joanna and 4)Helen (succeeded after George, and married 1706 Dr John Murray in nearby Prestoun). The first two are familiar family names. A later daughter of the house of Cavens (a Maxwell) was mother of the Countess of Sutherland who married the Marquis of Stafford, later Duke of Sutherland of Clearances fame (or, alternatively, infamy), but whether there was a blood link with the 17th century Master of Works is uncertain.<125>

Murray had not only served under William Schaw (d.1602), but had been promoted under him as had his father, James Murray elder. The latter was involved in the King's works, from an early date. For instance, he is on record at Edinburgh Castle, doing work on the "stokkis of the artaillyerie" from 1575 at least.<126> On 20th July, 1579, he was promoted: he had 'servit in his majesteis castell of Edinburgh as ordiner gunner and wrycht be the speciall derectionoun of the Lordis of his majesteis Previe Counsale...[since]...the first day of Apryle [1578]' as 'ane of his hienes wrychtis and gunnaris ordinar within

the said castell of Edinburgh, to wirk and remane within the said castell, and gifand him the office thairof for all the dayis of his lyff...', with a monthly salary of £6, payable from 1st April, 1578.<127> In 1583, he may have been associated with work done at the kirk of Fyvie - thus a possible link at this early date between the Murrays and the Seton family.<128> On 19th January 1583/4 he was appointed King's master wright and gunner ordinary in Edinburgh Castle 'and all utheris his majesteis forthis [= forts] or paliceis' for life, with all privileges enjoyed by the deceased John Crawford. He was still given a salary of £6 per month, and in addition, 'ane honest stand of clething'.<129> In 1601 he was raised from the position of Master Wright to that of Overseer of the King's Works. James Murray elder was defunct by 1615 when succeeded in office by Walter Murray, and we have noted that he, in turn, was succeeded in office by Kilbaberton's son and son-in-law. Indeed the surname Murray makes suspiciously frequent appearance in the Accounts pointing to nepotism on a grand scale (though such blatant promotion of kinsfolk was a very much more acceptable activity then than now - the promotion of royal illegitimates and kin giving such action something of a legitimacy). It is conceivably Murray the elder who is the James Murray represented in a portrait of an elderly man which is dated 1610, and is by an unidentified artist seemingly connected with the court.<130> It is probably significant when considering the future success of Murray the younger's career to note that both father and son were

promoted during Schaw's period of office, and the tone of a reference of 1599 in the Accounts suggests that Murray (the elder) enjoyed a favoured place with Schaw who in 1599, noted

I never allowit les this yeir to James Murray nor
xiiis. 4d. ilk day in the oulk (= week)<131>

As if to have done so would have been to commit a grave injustice.

While that apparent favour with Schaw no doubt helped Murray the younger's career, the innovative qualities and sophistication of the court architecture of the next three decades, over which he presided, shows beyond question that his appointment was not unmerited. (That said, we must remind ourselves that we can not say for certain how far William Wallace's contribution to the planning and design of the court architecture of the period was beyond simply that of artisan.) Another point to bear in mind is that this evident favour he had found with people who were sufficiently influential to secure for him the Mastership must mean that he had performed in a capacity which enabled such people to take notice of him and of his achievements or abilities. It is interesting that Dunfermline, who according to his own obituary had himself 'great skill in architecture', had described himself as the 'true-hearted friend' of William Schaw, which might mean that Murray, who had inherited (after Robertland's short tenure) Schaw's job was well-placed to also inherit

something of a friendship with that immensely influential man.<132> To obtain his position in the first place, Murray must have been friendly with, as well as favoured by, people such as Dunfermline, or else someone more favoured or highly-regarded would have been gifted it, in an age where kinship (what would to-day be regarded as nepotism) was the generally accepted norm.

It is difficult to know how much of the vast sums given him by the government in 1617 related to straightforward building work, repayment of sums spent by him in the face of tardy expenditure by the exchequer, what was reimbursed travelling expenses, and what was simply given as an expression of what was his worth, but on 11 April, the treasurer-depute was directed to pay between that day and Whitsunday the sum of £1200 for his "extraordinair chairges and expensis" during the past year and "to be sustenit be him in attendance upoun the saidis workis during his Majesties aboade in this kingdome and quhill his Majesties depairting and away passing".<133> More was spent than perhaps expected, and on 2nd October 1617, the Privy Council allowed £2,000 "in consideratioun of his extraordinair travellis in his Majesteis service thir yeir's bigane".<134>

His background as an experienced worker in the building trade as well as his position as king's master of work caused him to be brought in as an arbiter in a dispute over a building in the High Street where practicalities

were at issue.<135>

The duties of his post brought many varied responsibilities. These included the post first of "gunner ordinar", inherited in 1601 along with the post of master wright upon his father's promotion to master overseer,<136> and later, after the death of the father, of "Principal Master Gunner", which demanded a knowledge of the use of artillery and involved oversight of the royal armoury, and ordnance/powder were issued under his supervision, as was repair, overhaul and organisation of artillery.<137>

Payment for fireworks at Edinburgh Castle and Holyrood in 1617 was discharged through the Master of Works accounts, indicating yet another responsibility that fell to Murray.<138> For the action taken in 1614 against the Earl of Orkney, who had escaped captivity and fortified Kirkwall, the Privy Council ordained that "whareas his Majesteis maister gunnar of the said castle [ie Edinburgh], inrespect of his place and office, hes speciall intres in the delyverie of ony munition and ordinance furth of the same castle, and best knowis how thay salbe delyverit and what ornamentis [ie necessary accessories] appertynis unto thame, - thairfoir the Lordis of Secrete Counsaill ordanes ... [they be delivered] ... to the ... Erll of Caithnes", who was to lead the expedition.<139> The earl bound himself to return the ordnance "according to ane inventar maid and sett doun be

James Murray", on completion of the expedition.<140>
Similarly, in the Islay Rebellion of 1615, when Murray's one-time fellow detainee at Edinburgh Castle, the outlawed Sir James MacDonald of Islay - another escapee - fortified Dunivaig in the hope that he might re-establish the forfeited Lordship of the Isles, guns were sent from Edinburgh. A petard (specially returned from loan by Campbell of Caddell, who was to acquire Islay), for "blowing up of the yettis" of Dunivaig, and which was to be tested at "some yett within the Castle of Edinburgh",<141> may or may not have been sent, but the "three palyeonis"[= tents] which were sent were reported to the Privy Council on 9th January 1619 as being back in Glasgow by David Primrose, acting for the Earl of Argyll, and in a warrant from the Master of Work.<142> This shows Murray as very much the administrator, but there seems no reason to suspect that he was not also involved with the artillery in a practical capacity, as his title would suggest; that is, he was almost certainly present at the above test of the petard, and was doubtless asked to provide comment on the gun's efficacy against iron yetts set in masonry walls.

On 31st January 1625, was issued a precept by King James to the Earl of Mar and Sir Archibald Napier regarding a tolbooth for Lochmaben. Fines levied for unauthorised carrying of weapons had previously been assigned to the reconstruction of the bridge of Perth, but James had been persuaded to change his mind and allow fines for local

offences to be put towards the new tolbooth. Thus, he directed Mar and Napier

cause the maister of our workes with all conuenient expedition to go to Loughmaben and choose the moste fitte place for situation of a tolbooth, and builde the same in such sorte as the lower roumes may serue for prisons to malefactoris, and the vpper for keeping of courtes and administration of justice.<143>

The appointment was made in 1626 of Sir Harry Bruce as "Generall of his Majesties Arteillierie and Maister of his Munitioun of Warre and Armes of this kingdome",<144> a newly-created post, made at a time when King Charles had only recently succeeded and was already adopting an aggressive foreign policy; he (Charles) was involved in dispute with Spain, while anxious also to lend help to his uncle, the King of Denmark. Bruce was a professional soldier, vereran of the catastrophic Norwegian expedition of 1612, when some few hundred Scotsmen making their way overland through Norway with the intention of joining the Swedish army, were routed, captured and mostly executed by a force comprising the local peasantry.<145> Despite this, he had also served as a "collonel" with Gustavus Adolphus, and had been a prisoner of war at Nerlin.<146> His appointment may have led to some reduction in Murray's responsibilities, but as this was a specific response to dealing with specific political changes, rather than a new way of tackling a pre-existing situation, the effect, if any, on Murray's responsibilities is not clear. What can be said is that not all Murray's military/gunnery duties were lost to him then however, for on 28th December 1626

he oversaw the issue from Edinburgh Castle of the loan of gunpowder and bullets to be used by William Dick merchant (who was a friend of Murray's) in arming Captain David Murray's ship, part of the new navy now required on account of Charles' aggressive foreign policy, particularly towards Spain.<147> In 1633, at the time of Charles' visit, Captain Ramsay was 'send for be Coronell Bruice and the maister of work...' for directing the gunners in shooting the 'wolleis' (= volleys), indicating that the two worked together then.<148>

Duties of the Master of Works traditionally involved reporting on work done or required on some of the country's major bridges. Precisely what this involvement was, and when it was applied, is uncertain, but some bridges were evidently seen as serving the national interest, or more than their immediate locality alone, a point illustrated by the fact that nationwide appeals might be made for provision or repair of particular bridges, as for instance for the Bridge of Dee in 1664.<149> One might compare Scottish Development Department Roads and Bridges in the present day; William Schaw's involvement at Perth in the 1590s,<150> James Smith at his father's Inverness in the 1680s.<151> Previous to the Reformation, at least several bridges at important crossing points were provided by ecclesiastics - such as Guard Bridge, by Bishop Henry Wardlaw, repairs by Archbishop James Beaton;<152> Dairsie, by Archbishop James Beaton;<153> Bridge of Dee in Aberdeen, built 1500-27 "on

the initiative of Bishop Gavin Dunbar".<154> An exception to this general rule was Bridge of Teith at Doune, built by the philanthropic Robert Spittal, 1535.<155> Research is lacking, but perhaps the Reformation helped bring an end to that service, as for periods there were no bishops, and when they were in place, they had a different agenda to that of the Roman church. This change may have led to government taking on some liability for bridges.<156>

Discussion of bridges might have been assigned a place in the later chapters, amongst discussion of the other classes of building. But as the information which references to them provide bear directly upon the view we form of Murray's precise architectural role, they are more usefully discussed here.

In 1622 Murray was directed by the Privy Council to report on the ruinous state of Lasswade Bridge, which he duly did, and in the previous year he was involved at the "bigging [=building] of ane stone bridge over the watter of Levin" which James Clerk of Balbirnie had undertaken to build at the ford on the road between Falkland and "the ferryes" (possibly the Queensferry; alternatively, the Granton/Newhaven-Burntisland).<157> Lasswade bridge has two semi-circular bows of comparatively small scale, and whilst widened, visual inspection indicates that the earlier work could well be of 17th century date, perhaps (though not probably) of Murray's time.

On 27th September, 1628, The Privy Council made order for repairing of the bridges of Auchendinny and "Billisdale", both on the Edinburgh-Peebles road. The account tells that

report has now been made to their Lordships by James Murray, master of his Majesty's Works, in terms of their remit to him of 28th August last, in which he states that he has 'sighted and considerit the bridges...and hes found that the saids bridges are become so ruinous and decayed as if they be not speedilie repaired they will fall doun'<158>

'Billisdale' has not been identified, while at Auchendinny there are two bridges, neither of which can now be visually related to this reference.

In 1617, £8,000 was made available to Murray for repairs to the bridges of Earn (which works he is recorded as having visited in 1618,<159> Perth (ie the ongoing reconstruction at Perth, begun by the 1590s),<160> and Cramond ("heavily repaired in 1617-19").<161> It is also known that in 1624 he visited Linlithgow bridge together with the Laird of Dundas.<162>

Of that last group of bridges, only that at Cramond survives. It is composed of three bows with pointed cutwaters and a stepped string course, with moulded knobs now surviving at the north east end alone. High quality design. The westmost bow is of early date (Buildings of Scotland authors suggest a date of circa 1500 for the bridge's construction), its soffits being ribbed;<163> the other bows on the other hand have smooth soffits, and features such as a different method of keying into the

cutwaters indicate these to be of a secondary phase of building, rebuilding having evidently been found necessary either through collapse or decay. Datestones on the bridge record work done in 1619, 1687 (Robert Mylne was responsible for repairs of 1687-91,<164> 1761, 1776 and 1854. The masonry of the later bows is of a character which could, on visual grounds, be assigned a 17th century date, though whether or not they were built under the supervision of Murray cannot be told.

Similarly, Murray's views were required in repair/maintenance of roads. Thus, on 26th July 1631, when the Privy Council considered the highway between the "Clockemylne" and Leith sands, they agreed on an inspection to be made by

the Erle of Wintoun, Balmerinoch, Thomas Thomesoun of Duddingstoun, Harie Nisbitt, Nicol Udward, Androw Simpsoun and the Maister of Worke, to consider the hie wayes betuix [sic] and the Sands, and the charges that the reparatioun thairof will require<165>

Estate management also fell sometimes to Murray, and in 1616 he was commanded to visit the Torwood, near Stirling, then a royal forest. Murray was to report back as to how it could be made most valuable to the king, by means of forming enclosures, hainings, and parkland.<166> In terms of royal pleasure from this investment the effort must have been largely wasted, but this reference suggests surveying/ cartographic skills on the part of Murray. To underline how varied were his duties, he was also responsible in 1617 for obtaining ptarmigans and

capercaillies from the Braes of Mar for the King's table.<167> The impression one gets is that, in a sense, Murray was 'indispensible', able to do - and to be relied upon to do - an inordinate number of things, with countless contacts, possible only by knowing and being known by "everyone" .

The position of Master of the Ceremonies, a post which we learn from his monument had been Schaw's, also came Murray's way, though possibly only once, when he was brought on as a substitute. The relevant entry in the Privy Council Register, on 15th July 1630, states that

The Lords ordanis the Maister of Worke to supplee the absence of the Maister of Ceremonyis at the creatioun of the Lyoun King of Armes upoun Sondag nixt.<168>

Obtaining his knighthood must have been seen as one of the high spots in his career. It was on "last [day of] July" 1632 that Charles wrote to the Chancellor in the following terms,

Being informed of the qualitie and sufficiencie of our trustie and weilbelouit James Murray of Kilbabertoun, and of his affection to doe ws good service ther [ie in Scotland], Our pleasur is, that with all ceremonie requisit yow dub him knyght, according to the vse and custome of that antient kingdome observed in the lyk caises...<169>

Inigo Jones must have had a view on this knighthood, but if so, it seems to be unrecorded.

On 29th November 1634 Murray died.<170> His testament was drawn up on 14th June 1634, possibly an indication that

his health had begun to significantly deteriorate by then.<171> His inventory amounted to approximately £37,100, of which £28,491 5s. 8d. was owed him, the greater part of this sum being treasury debt (for instance, he was owed £9,500 for works made for the 1633 visit of Charles, £4,240 by the Exchequer for a grant under Royal warrant in reward of service, and approximately £3,000 of arrears fee and pension for his positions of master of works and master gunner). Murray's own debts on the other hand amounted to only £658. This colossal royal debt was still largely unpaid when the will was proved in 1636.<172> The figures involved are an interesting comment on how a one-time wright in government employment, given no more than a moderately generous wage in his earlier years, was able to amass a comfortable wealth, a wealth which would have been much more had his king acted more honourably towards him. Perhaps one element which lay behind the knighthood for Murray was an unspoken recognition that he might indeed have long to wait for his money.

Before concluding this introduction to Murray's life and career, we should now recall the reference to Murray in his marriage record of 1604. Here, he is described as "master of Works to His Majestie", which post, as shown, was not given him until 1607. This is difficult to explain, but two possible explanations present themselves. Perhaps it is explained by the marriage record having been re-written at some date after that of his appointment,

when the clerk inserted this piece of information with a view to it being of help to future inquirers (which indeed it is!). Otherwise, and far more probably, it looks as though Murray was given something of a caretaker role in the mastership, when Cunninghame had gone to England, having had to make some sort of arrangement for someone to keep an eye on things in Scotland. Bearing in mind that King James had only the year previously promised that he would return home every few years, brought by his "salmon-like" instinct to return, a deal of maintenance of the royal palaces and parks would have been judged essential, that everything should be ready for imminent and indeed frequent "hamecoming". Some official would have to act as link between the privy council and the tradesmen, and to supervise any work done, while the Master of Works was in England. As a practical - and evidently very able - man, whose father was Master Overseer, Murray must have presented himself as eminently suitable for such a responsibility, though doubtless others were put on "stand-by" to help if needs be. But it may be that that already by about 1603/4, Murray was 'de facto' Master of the King's Works.

Finally, a pleasantly human side of the man, preserved for us in the Masters' of Works Accounts: 'Item to Richard Ridderfurd ane pair wricht and sumtyme wrocht at the castell wark [ie of Stirling] at the maister of wark his desyre...xii s."; and again, "to Donald Makintyre quha gat his thie baine brokin at the castell wark at the maister

of wark his desyre...xii s.",.<173>

Sir Anthony Alexander

The other significant figure who should be mentioned at the outset is Sir Anthony Alexander, second son of William Alexander of Menstrie – poet and politician, Earl of Stirling from 1633 – and of Janet Erskine "sprung from the main line of the Erskine's".<174> The Alexanders were descended from the MacAlasdairs of Loup, in Kintyre.<175> In 1623 Anthony matriculated at Glasgow University (whose buildings were subsequently reconstructed in the court style – see infra); he was given licence by King Charles, in July 1626, "to travaille into France for the better enabling himself for our service...",<176> and he was presumably home or in England by 16 February 1628 (his license had been for 3 years) when he was conjoined with Murray in the post of Master of Works, "by his learning and travellis abroad haveing acquired skill in architectorie",<177>. The document ratifying him in post is dated at Whitehall, 1 April 1629, and suggests that his foreign travels may have been for the purpose of providing him with the position, by making reference to Anthony 'qui eruditione et peregrinando sufficientem peritiam in architectura acquisiverat';<178> he was appointed joint general surveyor and principal master of works, Murray retaining the seniority, until the latter died in 1634 when Alexander was confirmed as the sole official in the

post.<179> Their joint salary was £1,200, as compared with £300 given Murray in 1607, and £200 given Schaw, Drummond of Carnock and Hamilton of Finnart, predecessors in the post.<180> He was admitted a burghess of Stirling in October 1632, and was initiated into the Lodge of Mary's chapel on 3 July 1634 together with his elder brother.<181> He came to be deeply involved in the craft (Stevenson argues that this was a defensive move against St Clair of Roslin, protecting the place of the Mastership, vulnerable after Murray's death), and issued on 26 October 1636 the document known as the 'Falkland Statutes'.<182>

He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Wardlaw of Pitreavie (who had worked with Murray, and who is mentioned above), but the couple appear to have been childless.<183> He was knighted in 1635, died prematurely in London on 17 September 1637, and was buried in the family aisle at the Holy Rude Kirk in Stirling (this aisle, on the south flank of the nave, and more commonly known as 'Bowie's Aisle', has now gone, leaving only the raggle; it is said to have been built or rebuilt by Sir Anthony).<184> The surviving pulpit is evidently a product of this style of architecture, and may be a legacy of the Alexanders' association with the church, though the family pew which Sir Anthony is said to have built has also long gone.<185> Anthony's father's friend (and presumably an acquaintance, at the least, of his own) and fellow poet, Drummond of Hawthornden, composed a pastoral elegy to him,

a moderately lengthy poem in which he mourns Anthony, whom he names "Alcon",

In sweetest prime and blooming of his age
Dear Alcon, ravish'd from this mortal stage

This work was evidently viewed as important at the time, as it was printed in 1638 at "King James his College" (= Edinburgh University) by the well-known printer George Anderson, and entitled "TO THE/ EXEQUIES/ OF THE HONOVABLE/ Sr/ ANTONYE ALEXANDER/ KNIGHT, &c/ A Pastorall Elegie". Drummond's elegy concludes with an epitaph which reinforces the evidence that their friendship, and Drummond's grief at this loss, was genuine;

Over his hearse a verse in cypress cut:
'Virtue did die, goodness but harm did give
After the noble Alcon left to live;
Friendship an earthquake suffer'd; losing him,
Love's brightest constellation turned dim.' <186>

On the death of Murray, Sir Anthony immediately took to himself the seniority, issuing on Monday 1st December 1634 letters "...with his signator of Mr. Wark...", Murray having "decessit on Setterday".<187> He was to continue in service of the Crown: for instance, in 1635, the Earl of Traquair wrote for the king's information that he had "made a new survey of the Park of Falkland and be your Majesties Maister of Work his advise have already given ordour for winning of stone and lyme...".<188> Sir Anthony was succeeded in post by his younger brother Henry, who resigned shortly after, having made little impact on the royal works, preferring a career elsewhere and who

succeeded as 3rd Earl in 1640.<189>

* * *

Footnotes

1. Stevenson, Origins, p.94 ["There is no specific mention of the master of works being present {at the building of the Chapel Royal} but it is inconceivable that he would have been absent..."]

2. Mylne, PSAS, Jan 1896, pp.54-5

3. This formula of describing the post in terms of as previously held is not unusual in such documents.

4. R. Fawcett, The Abbey and Palace of Dunfermline (Historic Scotland, 1990), p.26; Stevenson, The Origins of Freemasonry (Cambridge, 1988), pp.30-31

5. See translation of Latin text in Stevenson, Origins p.26

6. NMRS D5/AY(p) 1957 [copy letter by John Dunbar referring to an inspection of the site].

7. James Paterson, History of the County of Ayr with a Genealogical Account of the Families of Ayrshire, 2 vols (Paisley, 1852), p.461; RMS, V, no.2283

8. David Moysie, Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland 1577-1603 (Edinburgh, Bannatyne Club, 1830), p.57; Paterson op. cit. gives the date as 1586{p461}; K Brown, Bloodfeud in Scotland 1573-1625. Violence, Justice and Politics in an Early Modern Society (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1986), ch. IV. The feud existed a century earlier, at Sauchieburn [see N. Macdougall, James IV (Edinburgh, 1989), p.94].

9. Chalmers, Caledonia, VI, p.470

10. Bannatyne Club, Historie and Life of King James the Sext 1566-1596 pp.259-40. By fleeing to Denmark, Cunninghame was taking advantage of an Act first included in the Treaty of Perth (1266), which protected refugees from one country to the other.{Thomas Riis, Should Auld Acquaintance be Forgot...: Scottish-Danish Relations c.1450-1707 (Odense University Press, 1988), vol.I, p.138}.

11. The overlooking by James of a violent past was not necessarily out of the ordinary, as the case of Huntly shows.

12. RMS, VI, no.658. A reference to David Cunningham "established in Copenhagen" by 18th May, 1591, by which

time his spouse Margaret Colle(son) was deceased, may be relevant in regard to the Master of Works, or his immediate kin, as might another reference to "Mester David Cunningham", royal gardener in 1632.{Riis, Should Auld Acquaintance be Forgot..., II, pp.190-1}

13. Paterson, History of the County of Ayr, p.461

14. Note, for instance, the "...great skill in architecture..." ascribed to Alexander Seton Earl of Dunfermline [House of Seton, p.63]; and the otherwise evident interest in the subject held by, for instance, Anthony Alexander, Sir James Hamilton of Finnart and William Schaw.

15. A. MacKechnie, unpublished paper submitted to PSAS. The link hinges upon the same mason's mark being inscribed on both monuments, that at Kilmaurs being inscribed with Scougal's name.

16. Kings' Works, III, pp.105-6

17. ibid., III, p.106

18. Mark Girouard, 'Designs for a Lodge at Ampthill', edd. H. Colvin and J. Harris, The Country Seat (London: Penguin, 1970), p.15

19. Bruce R. Galloway and Brian P. Levack, edd., The Jacobean Union: Six Tracts of 1604, SHS (Edinburgh, 1985), p.xiii

20. John Nicols, Progresses of James I, 1828, vol. I, p.596; Kings' Works, III, p.106

21. RMS, VII, p.986

22. Stevenson, Origins, p.112

23. See chapter VII

24. King's Works, III, p.106

25. Mylne, SHR, Jan 1896, p.55

26. King's Works, III, pp.105-6

27. ibid., IV, p.46

28. John Harris and Gordon Higgot, Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings (New York, 1989), p.108

29. Kings' Works, IV, pl.21

30. eg, A Palladio, The Four Books of Architecture (New York: Dover Publications, 1965) pl. xvii [reprint of Isaac Ware's 1738 translation of the original.]

31. Leon Battista Alberti, L'Architettura (Venice, 1565) [facsimile reprint ed. Arnaldo Forni, Bologna, 1985], p.311.
32. Kings' Works, III, pp.105-6
33. ibid., IV, p.46
34. M. Girouard, 'Designs for a Lodge at Ampthill', p.15
35. Cast & Dom, IV, pp.365-7
36. ibid.,
37. Nichols, Progresses, I, p.427
38. Accounts, II, p.ix
39. ibid., II, pp.lxx-lxxi
40. Cast & Dom, V, p.547
41. Cast & Dom, V, p.560
42. Cast & Dom., V, p.560
43. William Steven, Memoir of George Heriot with the History of the Hospital founded by him etc. (Edinburgh, 1845)
44. ibid., p.59
45. ibid., frontispiece; Cast & Dom, IV, 144.
46. Steven, Memoir of George Heriot, p.59
47. An early lesson learned by any professional fieldworker or student: as people, quite naturally, recognise characteristics associated with a particular architect, and assume that the link is necessarily a significant one.
48. K. Steer and J. Bannerman, Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1977), p.159. Summerson discussed two other myths surrounding Jones, one being that he (Jones) was responsible for the design of the church in the Piazza at Leghorn - which association Summerson evidently liked (though he acknowledges the architect as Pieroni), "and if the tradition is not pure fabrication (traditions rarely are)..."; Summerson interprets this as a possible minor involvement of Jones at Leghorn being exaggerated by his building a version of Leghorn at Covent Garden. [Summerson, Inigo Jones, p18.] I cannot see this reasoning as grounds for entertaining the supposed Jones link with Heriot's.
49. R.S. Mylne, Master Masons, pp.116-7

50. ibid., Mylne does not stop to consider the innacurate claim made by Robert Mylne on his uncle's monument in Greyfriar's, that the latter was "sixth master mason to a Royal Race"{p160}},

51. Master Masons, pp.70-79

52. Laurence Weaver, 'Winton Castle, East Lothian', CL, 24th August, 1912, p.260-67

53. ibid. p.263

54. ibid, p.263

55. At one point, sniffily translating, rather than transcribing: "but (the reader may wish to be spared the Scots spelling)...", ibid, p.267

56. cf. the contract for Partick castle {transcribed in Cast & Dom, V, 5-8}, or that for Forter {SRO GD16/27/17/1-5}.

57. CL 22nd August, 1947, pp.378-9

58. John Dunbar, The Architecture of Scotland, (London: Batsford, 1966; revision 1978)

59 ibid., p.74

60. Summerson, Architecture in Britain, p.533

61. ibid, p.535

62. ibid, p.536

63. ibid, p.526. To be fair, this last point was founded upon application of intellect, and in the context of the time, must have seemed logical.

64. D. Howard, 'Scottish Master Masons of the Renaissance', Les Chantiers de la Renaissance, ed. J. Guillaume (Paris, 1990), p.282

65. M. Kemp and C. Farrow, 'Humanism in the Visual Arts', in Humanism in Renaissance Scotland, ed. MacQueen (Edinburgh University Press, 1990) p.44

66. ibid, p.44

67. Morrice, Stuart and Baroque, pp.34-5

68. Historic Scotland information board at Courtyard SW corner.

69. Information per Mr John Dunbar.

70. Accounts, I, pp.375 & 380

71. Accounts, II, p.48
72. R.S. Mylne, Master Masons, p.70
73. Accounts, I, p.xxxv note one William Cunningham, dead by 1600, who had been 'mason to his majesty'. It is unknown whether this Cunningham was a relative of Sir David Cunningham of Robertland. The post had evidently been unfilled for some years.
74. Master Masons, p.79
75. ibid., p.70
76. Accounts I, p.xxix; Colvin, Biographical Dictionary, pp.152, 755
77. Master Masons, pp.70-1
78. ibid., p.70
79. Edin. Recs., 1589-1603, p.113
80. Accounts, I, p.xxix
81. Letters to King James VI, p.lxxiii
82. Accounts, I, p.xxxvii
83. Letters to King James VI, p.lxxix.
84. ibid, p.lxxxiv; cost was £179.8/6
85. ibid, p.lxxxv
86. ibid, p.lxxxvi
87. RMS, VII, 689; Cast & Dom, IV, pp.66-8
88. Stevenson, The Origins of Freemasonry (Cambridge, 1988), p.62. Stevenson discusses the relationship and rivalry between the Sinclairs of Roslin and the masters of works, both of whom claimed this right.
89. Accounts, II, p.lvi
90. RMS, VIII, no.1402
91. Letters, II, p.611; Accounts, II, p.lix; Colvin, Biographical Dictionary, p.567
92. Accounts, II, p.lvi-lxix; Colvin, Biographical Dictionary, pp.755-8
93. Edin. Recs., 1626-41, p.39
94. James Brown, The Social, Political and Economic Influences of the Edinburgh Merchant Elite, 1600-1638

(unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1986), p.23

95. ibid., pp.503-4

96. RPC, VIII, p.166. David Rizzio was killed with whingers.

97. Selected Justiciary Cases 1624-1650, I (Stair Society, publication number 16, 1953) I, pp.74-6.

98. Stevenson, Alasdair MacColla and the Highland Problem in the 17th Century (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1980), p.27

99. Murray's being warded in the castle appears to have been because he was deemed to be a prisoner of higher social standing than most; for there appears to have been a class structure even in such matters, the tolbooth being - generally - where everyday criminals or suspects were detained. The castle is where the future Lord Elibank was detained, and later, it was to Edinburgh Castle Sir William Bruce was taken for confinement, rather than to the tolbooth.

100. RPC, VIII, p.673

101. RPC, VIII, p.673; not a unique action: for the same was done in 1627, Bruce of Kincavil not to molest Hoome of North Berwick. [ibid (second series), I, p.634]

102. RPC, XI, p.120

103. ibid., XI, pp.75,84,143

104. M.R. Apted, Painted Ceilings of Scotland (HMSO, 1966), pp.89, 93. Anderson was painting master of George Jamieson.

105. RPC, IX, p.260

106. M. Lynch, Scotland: A New History, p.267

107. Calderwood, History vol vii, pp.546-7; cited in RPC, XII, p.707. Sir William Dick was to subsequently finance to a huge extent the Covenanting cause.

108. Parish of Holyroodhouse or Canongate Register of Marriages 1564-1800 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1915), p.652

109. The text reads: 'Mortified to the kirk session of cannogate be Sr. Iames murray mr. of his Maties. work in Anno 1658 1000 markes the rent thereof to the mr of the gramer Sihcole'

110. Canongate Register, p.653

111. King's Works, IV, p.771

112. cf. Macinnes, Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement (Edinburgh, 1991), p.5: in the 1640s, the future Duke of Hamilton had '28 household men, of whom all but nine were Hamiltons'.

113. M Lee Jr., 'James VI's Government of Scotland after 1603', SHR, xlvii (1968), p.48

114. RPC, IX, p.548

115. Hope's Major Practicks 1608-33, I, p.111

116. Peerage, III, pp.496-509

117. RPC, X, p.260

118. Peerage, III, p.509. A Katherine Weir was abducted from Edinburgh by Robert and Alexander Geddes in 1609 and returned soon after, evidently unharmed (Extracts, 1604-26, pp52-3).

119. RMS, IX, nos. 149, 1242

120. RMS, IX, nos. 149, 947

121. RPC 2nd ser, I, p.203

122. For details on Sir Gideon Murray, see Peerage, III, pp.504-507, and A.C. Murray, Memorials of Sir Gideon Murray of Elibank and his Times (1560-1621), (Edinburgh, 1932)

123. State Papers and Miscellaneous Correspondence of Thomas, Earl of Melros (Edinburgh: Abbotsford Club, 1837), p.259

124. Peerage, III, p.509

125. Peerage, III, p.509; MacKerlie, Lands and their Owners in Galloway, IV, p.143ff

126. TA, XIII, p.81 & passim.

127. RPS, VII, no.1976

128. RPS, VIII, no.1687

129. RPS, VIII, no.1729 & 1854

130. D. Thomson, The Life and Art of George Jamieson (Oxford, 1974). James Murray merchant, later of Deuchar, is another possible candidate for being the subject of this portrait; though other possibilities exist too.

131. Accounts, I, p.320

132. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Treasures of Fyvie (1985), p.11; and see inscription on William Schaw's

monument in Dunfermline Abbey.

133. RPC, XI, p.87

134. RPC, XI, p.249

135. RPC, X, pp.473, 482

136. Accounts, I, p.xxxvii

137. ibid., II, p.lviii

138. Accounts, II, p.ix

139. RPC, X, 709-10, etc. (includes good description of guns.)

140. ibid, p.712; inventory follows on p.713

141. ibid, pp.677, 726

142. RPC XI, p.5. By 1620 they were still not returned: see RPC, XII, p.226

143. Annandale Book, II, p.332

144. RPC, XV, p.308

145. PSAS, lxvii, p.209ff

146. For further on Bruce, see Spottiswoode miscellany II, p.384ff.

147. RPC, second series, I, p.432.

148. Accounts, II, p.386

149. Abbotsford Club, Ecclesiastical Records from the Synod of Fife, p.182

150. RPC, V; pp.531-2

151. MacKay, W., & Laing, G.S., edd., Records of Inverness, vol II (Aberdeen, New Spalding Club, 1924), p.347

152. Gifford, Fife, p.238

153. ibid, p.169

154. Shepherd, I.G., Grampian (Exploring Scotland's Heritage series) (Edinburgh, HMSO, 1986), p.37.

155. Inscription panel on bridge, See also McKean, Stirling and the Trossachs (Edinburgh: RIAS, 1985), p.94

156. T. Ruddock argues for a division into eight periods before modern times, the first two being (i)pre-

Reformation, (ii) post-Reformation until 1600. See his 'Bridges and Roads in Scotland: 1400-1750', in Fenton and Stell edd. Loads and Roads in Scotland and Beyond (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1984), pp.67-91, especially p.70. See also 1669 Act of Parliament for repairing roads and bridges, in ed. G. Donaldson, Scottish Historical Documents (Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press, 1970), pp.234-5. Much later, in the 18th century, Robert Adam evidently regarded bridges as being 'public' buildings, while from the late 17th century at least, responsibility for provision of bridges was invested in the Commissioners of Supply; see A.E. Whetstone, Scottish County Government in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1981), chapter III].

157. RPC, XII, pp.426, 710. This stretch of the River Leven was canalised late 18th/early 19th century, site of the bridge not found.

158. RPC, Second Series, II, p.469

159. Accounts II, p.123

160. Master Masons, ch. VI

161. Gifford, Edinburgh, p.548; Accounts, II, p.cv

162. Accounts, II, p.160

163. Gifford, Edinburgh, p.548. Whilst ribbed-arch bridges are known elsewhere in the period, in this country they may be compared in concept with the parallel-ribbed vaults of the 15th-early 16th century court architecture, as at, for instance, Ladykirk, Roslin, Linlithgow Gatehouse.

164. ibid, p.548

165. RPC IV, p.299

166. RPC X, p.534

167. Accounts, II, p.ix

168. RPC, III, p.613

169. Letters, II, p.611

170. Stevenson, The Origins of Freemasonry, pp.61n., 63. Stevenson notices that the December date given in Murray's testament is inaccurate.

171. SRO CC8/8/57, 27th Februry 1636

172. T. Ross, 'Old Parliament Hall, Edinburgh: statues of Justice and Mercy', BOEC, XIII, pp.36-7; cf. Accounts II, pp.xn. & xxxixn.; Brown, The Social, Political and Economic Influences of the Edinburgh Merchant Elite, II, p.504

173. Accounts, II, p.246
174. J.S. Fleming, The Old Castle Vennel of Stirling (Stirling, 1906), pp.77, 90.
175. For further on the family, see Rogers, Memorials of the Earl of Stirling and of the House of Alexander, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1877)
176. Letters, I, p.69
177. ibid., p.319
178. RMS, VIII, no.1402
179. ibid., IX, no.250
180. Accounts, I, p.xix
181. Letters, p.xliii; Stevenson, The First Freemasons, p.26
182. Stevenson, The Origins of Freemasonry, pp.67-71
183. Peerage, VIII, p.179
184. ibid., VIII, p.178.
185. Pulpit is illustrated in RCAHMS Inventory of Stirlingshire, I, pl.27E; Fleming, The Old Castle Vennel of Stirling, p.74
186. Drummond, op. cit. (first published Edinburgh, George Anderson, 1638)
187. Sir Thomas Hope's Diary, p.16.
188. Laing Charters, I, p.195.
189. Accounts, II, p.lix. For details on his career see Peerage, VIII, p.181

An architect is a person qualified to design buildings and to supervise their erection.<1>

So, to begin with, we can discard the convention which employs the coy terms 'mason', or 'master mason' to describe the artists responsible for designing buildings of the complexity of, for instance, Heriots, Kilbaberton, or Winton. Describing their designers by such terms implies a naive or vernacular quality to their work, which is unfair both to them and to their buildings. Whilst the Schaw statutes, and the freemasons' code, ensured that only trained, or qualified, masons would find employment where a mason's training was required, the difference between a sound practical skill and an artistry in architectural design is the point at issue here: and it is an important point, for it was skill in artistry and in practical design that brought forward the designer of Heriot's. Recognition in the period of the importance of trained people being given any complex role in what we might call the building trade would suggest that anyone to whom the term 'architect' might be attached would in turn also require particular relevant skills: that is, other than a straightforward administrative ability to oversee tasks such as wage-paying, for which a job title such as 'comptroller' would be perhaps appropriate. The implication is that the term 'architect' would have to be meaningful in terms that we would understand to-day.

One question central to this thesis is, "What, precisely, were Murray's duties as Master of Works?". Or more specifically, "Was he an architect, in the sense that he was responsible for the design of buildings?". Ultimately, the question remains unresolved in the sense that documentary evidence is insufficient to prove any answer beyond any fraction of doubt; there are many references to him in close association with building works, but in almost every case, the material is capable of being interpreted as the actual design work being that of someone else. But the evidence is at the least strongly indicative, and, it is submitted, puts the matter - as criminal lawyers would require - beyond reasonable doubt; to the point, indeed, where to argue that Murray was not an architect, would seem perverse.

To investigate this, we must review what evidence we can, which includes a reconsideration of much that ties in closely with the career outlines of Murray and of Wallace, discussed in chapter six.

The initial grant by King James VI to James Murray is dated 26 December, 1607, at Whitehall, and was made "understanding perfyettlie the skilfull experience knowledge, and habilitie of James Murray younger Master oversear and attendar over all his majesties workis and buildings in Scotland and his sufficiencie every way".<2> He was given the same salary as the "umquhile" (in this context, = deceased) Cunninghame of Robertland, viz "fyve

hundereth merkis of usual money of Scotland" (ie £333), paid annually in two instalments.<3> In the Register of the Great Seal of Scotland he is variously described as "architect[us]",<4> "magist[er] operum suorum infra Scotiam",<5> "magister operum regis"<6> "magist[er] operum regis infra Scotium",<7> and "architectus omnium regalium operum et edificiorum infra Scotiam".<8> In short, the term 'king's architect' would be applied in modern translation – though what did the scribes understand the Latin term to mean? Did they use the term in the sense of one who designs buildings? Might not a society which had a knowledge and appreciation of Vitruvius, understand also what to his perception was an architect? Did not Murray combine practical experience with a place in sophisticated society in which architecture can not have failed to be discussed, and therefore meet a fundamental Vitruvian criterion, that of an architect being able to combine practical experience with scholarship?<9> 'The architect', Stevenson reminds us, 'was the Renaissance ideal, the Universal man.'<10> Which is of course exactly the impression now formed of Murray. Stevenson also sees Vitruvian influence in the combining of the post of master gunner with that of master of works under Murray, or master mason, under John Mylne.<11>

In the grant of 20th April, 1630 from Charles I in Whitehall, London, to Murray and his partner Anthony Alexander, they are referred to by the king as "generall surveyaris and principall maisteris of all his hienes

werkis and buildinges within the ... realme of Scotland".^{<12>} Previous to this, in 1611, James Murray was described by Sir William Bowyer, an Englishman who was Captain of Berwick, as 'surveyor and builder' of the Earl of Dunbar's house in that town.^{<13>} Again, in a letter to Charles from Murray and Alexander dated at Holyrood, September 7th, 1632, they referred to themselves as "maisteris of his hienes workis and generall surveyaris within [Scotland]".^{<14>} This is particularly interesting, because, as the above shows, the term "surveyor" had not been used in Scotland to denote the occupation of one whose work entailed the design or supervision of building. In England it was used to describe the king's architect in that country - people such as Sir Richard Lee, Simon Basil, Inigo Jones - people generally accepted as having designed buildings, and all 'Surveyors'.^{<15>} More tellingly from the point of view of the present study, this was the job title of David Cunninghame of Robertland, whose Surveyorship was between that of William Spicer (alive, but very old and probably unfit in 1603) and Simon Basil.^{<16>} As noted supra, Cunninghame was Master of the King's Works in Scotland (and was also denoted "architect[us]"), presumably a qualification for being given the English job, but also strongly suggestive that duties of the Scots and English posts were similar. And we know - most memorably, through Inigo Jones - that the English surveyors did in fact design buildings.

The use of the term "Surveyor" in correspondence with

Scotland by the completely Anglicised Charles (he had of course left Scotland when a young child and been in England since) shows that he understood Murray's job to be the equivalent to that of Inigo Jones', who was 'Surveyor' of the King's Works.<17> Indeed, as Murray and Alexander used the term of themselves, then the indication is that they too must have seen themselves as holding the equivalent post, and wished others to regard them thus. So can we not therefore reasonably expect that Murray produced designs for some of the court style buildings this thesis will consider, in the same way as Jones did in Charles' southern kingdom, beyond the Tweed? The new, Anglicised name ('Surveyor-General') was that used when in 1671 the post was revived (for the specific job of reconstructing Holyrood) and given to Sir William Bruce,<18> and in 1683, to James Smith ("Surveyor or Overseer of the Royal Works").<19> Murray's "sufficiencie in EVERY way" (supra) seems also to confirm his reputation in architectural matters. This was not a sufficiencie in technical matters alone, of supervisory or administrative matters alone: ie, if he could not design buildings, as Schaw and Cunninghame appear to have done, then surely his sufficiency for the job would have been less than complete?

A similar situation in reverse: in this country, the English terminology might in turn be Scotified, if the two posts were considered to be analagous. In 26 October 1547, "William Kircaldie of Grange, younger, past to

Ingland for supplie, with quhome come the maister of wark
 of Ingland with aucht schippis to spy the said hous [ie,
 St Andrews Castle]."^{<20>} St Andrews Castle had the year
 previous been captured by the Protestant, anti-Francophile
 party, of whom Grange was one, John Knox the most
 celebrated.^{<21>} This was a period of war with England,
 when the English king had determined to annex the country
 by military means, with a series of fortifications built
 for progressing that ambition. Such activity on England's
 part meant that there were several people in charge of
 fortification building whom the Scots might have regarded
 as a 'master of works': for instance, Richard Lee, Thomas
 Petit or Giovanni di Rosetti. The first of these was the
 King's Surveyor. The other two were military
 engineers.^{<22>} From English sources it appears that
 Rosetti - variously known as 'Mr John the Engineer'; 'the
 Italion'; or 'the engenour' - had held the post of
 'Ingener Master of thordinaunce at [Broughty]', and in May
 1547 he was sent to St Andrews "to mount artillery in the
 castle".^{<23>} He was also in Fife in June, following,
 accompanied by Archangelo Arcano, evidently another non-
 Englishman connected with the military works.^{<24>} The
 dates of the two references disagree by some months, so
 perhaps each refers to a separate incident. The story
 becomes yet more complex when the Diurnal tells also that
 "Wpoun the first day of September...begane...[a period of
 20 days in which]...mene tyme, the castell of Sanctandrois
 wes provydit with all maner of ordinance alsweill as mycht
 be devysit, the wallis rycht stronglie stuffit with

faill."<25> The temptation is to suspect that this apparently retrospective part of the Diurnal account is slightly in error in terms of detail. But it would hardly, for our purposes, matter if the incidents recorded were different ones: for the point is that St Andrews was visited by someone who was most likely a military engineer, and who Scots terminology was to identify by the same job-title that was to be used of MacDowall, Schaw, Cunninghame and Murray.

The published accounts of the Masters of Works also indicate Murray's close involvement with the practical side of the works - for instance, on 27 May 1622 "the maister of wark tuik journey at the counsallis directioun for sighting lowis wark at Huntingtoure and did set down ordour for building the same and did give directioun for sindrie thingis to be done at Falkland...".<26> Here, the Privy Council evidently took the role of deciding (possibly on Murray's formal or informal recommendation) that inspection or work was required; it fell to Murray to "set down ordour for building the same" - ie to convert the information on what was needed to a form which the builders could use; though whether or not this instruction also meant to "design" is perhaps inconclusive, and a matter for individual interpretation.

Another reference appears on the face of it to come even more tantalisingly close to removing all doubt about what was Murray's role - for in an account submitted for work

done in 1629 "within and about his Majesties castell of Stirling.." Murray claims (among other things) for "mounting the ordinance thair and in platting and contryving his Majesties new gairdein and orcheard...".<27> The Stirling garden is discussed below, but for the moment, the points to note here are that a) a new garden was required at Stirling (there was already a garden there, evidently no longer suitable), and b) its "platting and contryving" would appear to have fallen to Murray to do; ie his job there was to actually design the thing.

It appears at first that the significant point contained in this last reference to Murray is that here he was responsible for the actual design of something, albeit a garden lay-out rather than a new building. However, payment had also been made to "Williame Wattis maister gairdner to his Majestie for [expenses] in platting and contryving his Majesties gairdein warkis at the park of Stirling...".<28> Design work was evidently done by Watt; but the documentation leaves open the possibility that Murray also contributed to the "platting and contryving". Perhaps the latter was responsible for overall concept, whilst a professional gardener might have advised on the lay-out of detail.

There are in fact two contemporary references which seem to leave no doubt at all that he was the designer of one major public building, namely the Parliament House, and of

one major domestic building, namely the Earl of Dunbar's house at Berwick.

First, the Parliament House. The relevant entry in the Edinburgh Town Council minutes, of date 1st February 1633, reads,

...David Makcall to pay to James Murray, Maister of Worke to his Ma., for his bygane travellis takin be him in the Tounes workes and for drawin of the modell of the workes of the parliament and counsalhous presentlie intendit the soume of ane thousand pundis...<29>

The phrase "drawin of the modell of the workes of the [building]" is the telling one. The term "model" in this period refers generally to a two-dimensional drawing or design, rather than to a three-dimensional model.

Evidently, Murray had drawn up the design of the proposed new "workes", or building, on paper. (The generous-looking sum paid may mean that Murray's "bygane travellis...in the Tounes workes" were considerable indeed, though a full set of working drawings for a building so complex as this would also have been costly to prepare.

The Parliament House is discussed separately in chapter 14, but it should be noted here that it is a mainstream - indeed, mature - example of this court style. And Murray evidently produced the design for it. The point is that if Murray was capable of designing a building of that calibre, might he not reasonably be regarded as capable of producing designs for other buildings of like design and quality? Which is not necessarily to say that he must have

designed all works done in his capacity as Master of Works, rather more to say that the job presented him with the opportunity to design such works; and there seems no reason to suppose that he did not avail himself of that opportunity. It would be difficult to imagine, for a purpose-built Parliament House - which was a building of unparalleled civic importance and national significance - that anyone other than a first-rate designer in whom all (or most) had confidence would be engaged. The country, after all, would be judged by outsiders on the quality of such a building. That Murray was employed to provide the design might be a consequence of royal pressure, if he had some as yet unseen role in promotion of Charles' innovations, but there is no evidence to suggest that to be the case. We are left with the impression that of all the designers of buildings in the country, Murray was regarded as the most able, and was appointed on that basis. Which in turn, raises the question of whether he might have been involved with other major buildings of the time which can be visually related to Parliament House, in precisely that role and for precisely the same reasons.

As noted, the second building which documentation indicates to have been his design is the Dunbar House at Berwick. Like Parliament House, the Dunbar House is more fully discussed infra; but the point to note here is that Dunbar's architect was James Murray.<30>

There seems too no doubt but that Murray was regarded by

his contemporaries as worthy of consultation for his technical skill. His being sent to prepare a report on, for instance, Lasswade bridge, or to visit the bridge over the Leven, would seem pointless, if he were not to provide technical advice, rather than merely the observations of any other lay person. And if Murray was incapable of providing such advice, why was the King's master mason not sent instead, or as well? In fact, his report on Lasswade bridge is indicative of his function: having been called before the Privy Council, he reported "that he fand [it] verry defective both in the pend and utheris pairtis thairof, and yf some tymous course wer not tane for repairing, beitting and mending of the same, thair wes grite appeirance that it wald altogidder decay and fall doun". Obviously, the assessment of a lay person would be in question, or disregarded, when the question was whether or not financial investment in repairs was necessary.<31>

Still on the subject of bridges, and more tellingly; returning briefly to Berwick. The building of Berwick bridge was something long-intended, and the bridge which eventually begun building in 1611-20 appears to have been designed by and built under the supervision of James Burrell, who was Surveyor of the works at Berwick from 1604, and Mayor of Berwick in 1609 and in 1611.<32>

Responsibility for getting the project off the ground lies in the main with the Earl of Dunbar, who doubtless argued the obvious symbolic link - to say nothing of the practical - which the bridge would be in the immediate

post-1603 era.<33> Dunbar had remained stoutly loyal to James, dutifully following his wishes, and he was James's principal officer in the Scottish administration.<34> A stone bridge was much-wanted by locals and doubtless, after 1603, by those influential in the Scots administration who had now to cross the Tweed regularly in relay, for the operation of absentee rule, then a completely novel thing for Scotland.<35> The existing timber bridge was evidently in a suspect condition.

The primary interest of the Berwick bridge to this study lies in the information which the associated references provide on Murray, for he appears to have in fact had little or no input to the design or building.

On 15th February, 1607/8 the old timber bridge was severely damaged by flood which swept ice upon it. Ensuing correspondence with the south of England stated the case for, and the urgency there now was in, building a stone bridge, and one letter of the time, from Sir William Bowyer, Captain of Berwick, to the Earl of Salisbury, makes particularly interesting reading. In this letter, Bowyer expressed some concern at Burrell being in charge of such a mammoth project,

...yet I thinke in all his tyme he never had hand in Suche a worke I meane of such diffeculty or Import by Reasone of the nerenes of the Sea and the quicke Retorne of the watter. It will require the Best experimented and Ingenious freshe sperits to work without lose as not to do and undoe. Your L will fynd his Sufficiencie by conference who I think can do better than he can speake and yet in this perchance promis more then he shalbe able to perfforme being a

worke of Suche hassard [=hazard].<36>

Bowyer then goes on to speak of Murray coming south and that he "might be worth Salisbury's attention".<37> The point is that here was Bowyer – who most likely knew Murray, as he was able to comment on his character, and certainly knew of him from his involvement at the Dunbar house – believing that Murray was probably a better man to carry out a task of such complexity, a task beyond the king's man on the spot, even though the latter was a man of known ability, who held the post of 'surveyor of the bridge at Berwick'.<38> Murray's technical expertise outweighed that of a perfectly competent local master mason. Which is to say that local (or perhaps one local's) regard for Murray's practical building sense placed him significantly above the much better-than-average time-served tradesman when it came to matters of such complexity. This militates against any suggestion that Murray's skills and duties were those of a lay administrator; quite the contrary, that they were those of a particularly skilled and highly regarded architect – in a context where a skilled mason could in our terms be described as 'architect' (ie in the way that it appears we could use the term of John Mylne at Panmure, or of Aytoun at Innes).<39>

The skills demanded from a master gunner (Murray's position was as "Principal Master Gunner" – supra) were specialised and therefore comparatively rare in this early

modern period, which, perhaps, is partly why John Slezer was able to become captain of artillery.<40> But such military responsibilities had also fallen to William Schaw in the previous generation, when for example he had been taken on James' punitive expedition against (principally) the Earl of Huntly, after the "Spanish blanks" affair of 1594. Schaw was given the task of blowing up Huntly Castle in a way that would symbolically assert royal displeasure and power, while also render it impossible to quickly re-fortify, and this he duly did, necessitating its reconstruction in the few years around 1600, following the Earl of Huntly's pardon.<41> But we learn from this episode that Schaw had particular skills of a military nature, and in this context, it has already been noted that Vitruvius had required of architects (among a great deal else) skill in artillery: a point which would not be lost on the Scots decision-makers, all educated in the Humanities, while of course the Earl of Dunfermline is known to have had an interest in architecture, as well as an education in Rome. Skills such as surveying, calculating angles, geometry, were all anyway those of an architect.<42>

It might be argued that as others of Wallace's designation were responsible for house designs - as witness Aytoun at Innes, and John Mylne at Panmure - it should therefore be expected that Wallace too would design houses.<43> That seems fair, and doubtless he was responsible for the design of some buildings, a training he would have gained

in the course of his apprenticeship. But this in no way conflicts with the main thrust of this thesis, which is to argue that Murray was an architect of greater significance than Wallace. The point should also be made that others of Murray's class too were expected to be able to design buildings. James Hamilton of Finnart, for example, is believed to have designed his own house at Craignethan as well as royal works such as parts of Stirling, Linlithgow and fortifications at Blackness,<44> while William Schaw is believed to have been responsible for the reconstruction of Dunfermline Palace and Abbey in the 1590s.<45> And, of course, in the Restoration period Sir William Bruce is accepted to have been responsible for architectural designs, while there is no question but that his successor in office, Mr James Smith, was responsible for a great many sophisticated compositions.<46>

But something of a distinction between Murray and Wallace is illustrated by the difference in salary, and in social rank: Murray, although he had begun as an artisan, had evidently been shown favour and was promoted to the country's highest architectural post. He became a laird with a country house - the symbol of gentry - and (if only eventually) a knighthood; although it can be noted that the house at Kilbaberton which Murray built for himself was very much more modest than Kinross, which Sir William Bruce, who held the same post late in the century, had managed to build.<47> It is tempting to conclude from this that Bruce was rated much more highly, and that his

responsibilities were correspondingly more onerous. The other evidence however does not support that suggestion, when it is seen what Murray's responsibilities and skills were, and anyway, given the time gap and the different political climate, a) we may not be comparing like with like, especially as Bruce might have been more conscious of displaying his gentlemanly rank (grander than Murray's - Bruce never did manual work), b) Smith's Whitehill of the 1680s (enlarged only after he had sold it) is not so very different from Kilbaberton in terms of scale and unpretentiousness,<48> and c) unpaid royal debt to Murray was colossal.

Coming back to the comparison with Wallace, Murray's travelling expenses could be more in a few days than Wallace earned in a week. For instance, on 8th February, 1619, Murray claimed £13 9s. 8d. for his 'extraordinary charges in being a haill weik at the warkis' (in Linlithgow).<49> Wallace's weekly pay at £6 per week seems insignificant in comparison with this, though Murray's expenses pale into insignificance beside those of Lord Traquair, when in 1633 he claimed £84 12s. 'expenssis 2 dayis' for visiting the works.<50> Wallace was and remained a skilled craftsman. Although deserving and earning of the greatest respect - no country house for him to live in and no knighthood. On his death in 1631, his widow was approached to give up patterns and so on required for the progress and continuation of work at Heriot's, where from the time that building began in 1628

he had been master mason;<51> these would have been architectural drawings/profiles but not necessarily all prepared by Wallace although in his possession, and even if they were, this would not prove that the overall concept - as opposed to the detail design - was Wallace's. Maybe the conclusion that we should draw from this is that it was most likely in great measure through Wallace that the new and very high standard of sculptural carving to the buildings of the court style was established. No building with which he is associated is documented as being his design, or even suggested in contemporary documentation as being his design. The case is different with Murray, whose responsibility for the Parliament House design at least is unambiguous. This is not to argue that house design would have been beyond Wallace's capabilities; only to argue that the king and major clients would have most likely looked to Murray as the country's leading architect, and on Wallace as a man whose skills were different, who as king's master mason could realise such works, bringing a mature, practical mind to his craft; and as a designer of major works, probably a second choice. Perhaps the clinching argument is contained in the Accounts; for it is Murray who is ubiquitous - wherever work is contemplated, in process or whatever, it is always Murray who is in charge, issuing "commands": for instance 'Item to Johne Sutherland for careing a letter with the maister of warkis directiounis to the warkmen' (at Linlithgow, 1618).<52> Wallace's name is associated only with particular tasks at the palaces: for instance,

in 1617 at Edinburgh, 'To William Wallace for a pund and a half of tyn to be a horne to the unicorne and for making of it....xxiiiiis',^{<53>} or else is contained in straightforward lists of workers; he seems never to have been in the position of issuing "commands", nor does he appear to have had any contact with the nobility or gentry in the way that Murray had. For example, it was Murray who made inspections of the works along with such as the Treasurer-Depute. Would a "carver" have been sufficiently well acquainted with the detail of polite living - even in the comparatively relaxed social framework of the Scots court - to be entrusted with design of royal palaces?^{<54>} It seems unlikely.

Possibly confirming Murray's role as being that of architect is a reference in the Privy Council register of 1630;

The Lords of Secreit Counsell ordains the Maister of Worke... to assist the provest, bailleis and counsell of Edinburgh with his advice and opinioun anent the preparatiouns requisite to be made and perfytted within thair kirk towards his Majesteis coronatioun.^{<55>}

This action was taken when Charles was expected to be coming to Scotland in the near future, and when St Giles' was regarded as the place where the coronation should take place. The church had to be got ready - but who should be involved in deciding what was to be done? Evidently, overall responsibility for this undertaking was to fall to the Edinburgh. Councillors, bailies and provost all

represented the city's interests, and would have to approve what was intended. What, on the other hand, was Murray's place, and what was the reason for involving him? What sort of assistance can have been required of him, bearing in mind that he was the only non-town council office-bearer to be involved at top level, who was of sufficient importance for his name to be specifically mentioned - indeed, whose assistance was evidently necessary for work to be decided upon (Wallace {d.1631}, incidentally, appears not to have been asked to assist). The only obvious skill which would be required by the Town Council at the outset would be for professional advice on the question of what physical changes/modifications were to be done to the building to prepare it for the king's coronation; and this, indeed, the reference goes on to make clear, is exactly the advice sought: Murray was to "assist...anent the preparatiouns requisite to be made and perfytted". Clearly, this is precisely the reason for involving Murray, namely, in his stated capacity as "Maister of Worke"; or in modern terminology - "architect"?

So, to sum up;

1) We can note Murray inheriting the duties of Cunninghame of Robertland. He, in turn, had inherited the duties of William Schaw, whom it is difficult not to see as a designer of buildings (as, eg, at Seton), as well as the duties of William Spicer, one of the Surveyors of the

Kings' works in England: that is (and this is significant), a class of person known to have been responsible for designing buildings for the crown in England.

2)Murray's own technical background as first a wright, then master wright, demonstrates a practical knowledge of the building trade and of architecture, knowledge of a sort that is necessary (though not necessarily derived from operative experience) for an architect.

3)It was evidently for his technical expertise that Murray was detailed to report on the structural condition of Lasswade bridge.

4)In Berwick, Bowyer, who presumably knew Murray from the latter's involvement at the Dunbar house, evidently regarded Murray as a wise choice for building a new stone bridge in exceptionally difficult circumstances, a task which he suspected to be beyond the capabilities of a local man (Burrel) who was an experienced master mason.

5)He (Murray) is described in official documents of the Register of the Great Seal as "architect[us]" as well as "Magister operum"; ie "architect", and "master of works". The former title is probably significant in the context of a Scotland where a Humanities education was the norm for all educated people, ie the meaning of the word was known and understood, and in a craft which had a regard for the

writings of Vitruvius. There seems no reason to believe that it was consistently used to convey a different meaning.

6) King Charles, and later Murray himself and his partner Anthony Alexander, used the English term "surveyor" to denote the post of master of the king's works, ie the term used to denote the post of the king's architect in England. Alexander had fitted himself for the post by having travelled abroad for the specific purpose of studying architecture (and it may in part be his influence which lies behind creation of the more extravagantly ornamented elevations). Similarly, Murray was described in a contemporary English account as being 'builder and surveyor' of the Dunbar house in Berwick, and it has been shown that the term 'Master of Works' appears to be equivalent to the English term 'Surveyor'.

7) Murray appears to have possessed surveying skills, to judge by his holding the post of master of artillery, and his being sent to survey the Torwood. Surveying skills were of course necessary for an architect.

8) The reputation of William Wallace, who has for long been regarded as the outstanding architect of his age, has little documentary evidence to substantiate it. He appears to have been a very able master mason and craftsman, doubtless a skilled architect too: but not, it would appear, used in the latter role when engaged upon the

royal works.

9) Thus, following on from 8), if Wallace was designer of buildings for the royal works, we would expect him to be active at all sites where work was in progress, with presumably some sort of supervisory role – otherwise, there would be no guarantee that work being done was correctly following the precise plan – and the building would inevitably become in great measure the work of the site overseer. Instead, it is Murray who visits all these sites, regularly, and (in the case of Dumbarton, especially) it is with him that people/ messengers keep in touch. It is the master of works who issues "command[s]"; Wallace does not.

10) We have, in connection with William Schaw, noted Stevenson's making the point about the importance of Vitruvius in contemporary architecture. It is the latter who sets out the distinction between the employer/ patron on the one hand, and the contractor/ operative on the other; and that it is the architect whose role lies between these two. Wallace, as has been noted, is found only in the role of operative.<56> Murray, by 1607 at least, is found only in a non-operative role, and acting a part between patron and operative.

11) Murray's involvement in 1630 at St Giles' was to "assist with his advice and opinioun [my emphasis] anent the preparatiouns requisite to be made and perfytted" at

St Giles' for Charles I's aborted visit of 1630. This can hardly have been advice on the administration of labour, or on the straightforward disbursement of finances in the building trades. It surely can have been only professional advice regarding re-design of the building for an exceedingly important event?

12) Lastly, and most significantly, there are references to Murray having designed two major buildings. The reference to the Parliament House seems beyond dispute, as clear a statement as we can hope to find, demonstrating that he had drawn up the plans ("modell") of the proposed new building, which is of course a mainstream example of the style. And of course, if he could design that, he could design other high-quality buildings.

So where now Summerson's claim for Inigo Jones as being "Britain's [in the sense, I think, of the infant UK] first architect"?^{<57>} The claim is seen as pompous nonsense, anyway, when we consider the functions of Smythson and of Thorpe in England (disallowed in Summerson's definition simply because their architecture was not Palladian),^{<58>} the title of Cunninghame, and more eloquently, the designer of Culross Abbey House – beyond any question worthy of the term.

We have noted above that the designers of these court-style buildings were evidently not appointed primarily because of their skill in masoncraft, but because of their

design skills; which is to say that there was a conscious choice made at some level, and at some point, of someone whose particular skill that was; ie, by no means necessarily a mason. It seems difficult not to conclude that Murray's duties included the design of buildings, ie he was, in modern terms, an architect. Not only so, but in terms of government service, Murray was by several years the senior to Jones. Murray was given a knighthood for his services (though whether or not the success of politically-inspired building work at Parliament House - and possibly St Giles', which was made into a single church, probably involving him - helped Murray obtain his knighthood is uncertain), while Alexander obtained the same honour in 1635. Jones, on the other hand, subject of a satire by Ben Johnson 'To Inigo Marquess Would Be', may well have looked for such honours "on the analogy", says Summerson, "of Philip IV's ennoblement of his architect, Crescenzi"; but that was not to be<59> Giovanni Baptista Crescentzi was in 1626 created Marquis della Torre for his work on the Escorial, and Jonson's satire presumably dates from about then; that is, before Murray was knighted.<60> Comparison between Murray and Jones is discussed below.

* * *

Footnotes

1. Collins Concise Dictionary (London, 1989), p.61.
2. R.S. Mylne, 'Masters of Work to the Crown of Scotland', PSAS, vol.VI (third series), 1895-6, p.55

3. ibid., p.55
4. RMS, 1612, no.689
5. ibid., 1622, no.385
6. ibid., 1625, no.912
7. ibid., 1626, no.925
8. ibid., 1629, no.1402
9. cf. Stevenson, The Origins of Freemasonry, pp.105-17
10. ibid, p.107
11. ibid, pp.112-3
12. Mylne, 'The Masters of Work', p.57
13. King's Works, IV, p.771
14. Mylne, 'The Masters of Work', pp.56-8
15. King's Works, III, p.406
16. ibid., III, pp.105-6
17. ibid., III, ch.VII
18. Sir William Bruce 1630-1710 (Scottish Arts Council Exhibition, 1970), cat. 32
19. Colvin, Biographical Dictionary, p.755
20. Diurnal, p43
21. Diurnal, p.42
22. King's Works, IV, p.700
23. ibid, p.701
24. ibid, p.701
25. Diurnal, p.43
26. Accounts, II, p.140
27. ibid, II, p.243
28. Accounts, II, p.242
29. Edin. Recs., 1626-1641, p.119
30. Accounts, II, p.lxix.
31. RPC XII, p.710

32. King's Works, IV, part III, p.ii
33. ibid., IV, p.770
34. The Jacobean Union, pp.xiii & xv
35. ibid. p.xiii; W. Taylor, 'The king's mails', SHR xlii (1963), pp.143-7
36. King's Works, IV, p.771.
37. ibid., IV, p.771.
38. CSP Dom., 1603-10, p.208.
39. The circumstance at Berwick has documented parallel in the next century: when the Commissioners of Supply of the County of Dumfries eventually sent to Edinburgh, to David Henderson, to build Auldgirth bridge after the failed attempts by the local - experienced and perfectly competent - Stewart demonstrated that greater expertise had to be found in Edinburgh. See G. W. Shirley, 'The Building of Auldgirth Bridge', Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, vol. XXIII (1940-4), pp.71-5
40. Cavers, K. & Gibson, K., A Vision of Scotland: the Nation Observed by John Slezer 1671 to 1717 (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1993), p.1, et seq.
41. W.D. Simpson, 'The Architectural History of Huntly Castle', in PSAS, 13th February 1922, p.158
42. A distinction between these skills was a long time off; for instance, we can notice the emergence of engineer as distinct from architect in the time of Robert Adam and of Telford.
43. Colvin, Biographical Dictionary, pp.78-9; 570
44. An argument over-stated by Charles McKean, 'James Hamilton of Finnart', History To-day, January 1993, pp.42-7. Indeed this is now cited by other authors, having become a new 'orthodoxy': see James Ross, Musick Fyne (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1993), p.151. I do not see the evidence to allow us to regard Hamilton as an 'architectural genius', particularly while the role of Scrymgeour of Myres - in the mastership of works before, probably during, and after Hamilton's time - remains unresolved.
46. Colvin, Biographical Dictionary, pp.755-8. Smith is described as '...a figure of considerable importance in the history of Scottish, and perhaps also of English, architecture...' (ibid., p.755)
47. Vitruvius Scoticus, pls.61-2.

48. Lothian, pp.351-3; A MacKechnie, 'James Smith's Smaller Country Houses' in Frew, J. and Jones, D., edd., Aspects of Scottish Classicism (St. Andrews Studies in the History of Scottish Architecture and Design: 1988), pp.10-12
49. Accounts, II, p.134
50. ibid, II, p.307
51. D. Howard, 'Scottish Master Masons of the Renaissance', J. Guillame (ed.) Les Chantiers de la Renaissance (Paris: 1990), p.7
52. Accounts, II, p.127
53. ibid, II, p.81
54. D. Stevenson, 'The English Devil of Keeping State', chapter 6
55. RPC, III, p.498
56. Vitruvius, The Ten Books on Architecture, p.10
57. J. Summerson, Inigo Jones (Pelican: 1966), p.39
58. Colvin, Biographical Dictionary, pp.827-8; M. Girouard, Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House (Yale University Press, 1983 [up-dated version of Robert Smythson and the architecture of the Elizabethan Era, 1966]). Though Summerson has to be seen in the context of his time, when people such as Wittkower, an art historian who fled from Hitler's Germany, lighted upon Palladian architecture as 'pure', its stripped facades the progenitor to some extent of the modern movement. It was against this background that Summerson saw what he interpreted as being "...the nauseating proliferation of Mannerist ornament...", or "...the Mannerist romantic nonsense..." [Summerson, Inigo Jones, pp.43-4].
59. J. Summerson, Inigo Jones, p.110
60. Ian Donaldson, ed., Ben Jonson (Oxford University Press: 1985), pp.465,724

CHAPTER 8

METHODOLOGY: AND THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM OF IDENTIFICATION

Having in chapter three defined what is meant by the terms 'court architecture', and 'court style', and having submitted the thesis that James Murray was an architect responsible for the design of some buildings, we can now turn to look more specifically at the court architecture of Murray's period.

Discussion of these buildings, of what is or is not designed by Murray or his immediate circle, is complicated by the relative lack of available documentary evidence. But visual examination of the buildings of this period shows that new fashions in architecture reached the court, evidenced by a group of buildings concentrated in east/central Scotland, which are distinguished by their shared repertoire of motifs, similarity of ornamental detail and design, their higher quality of sculptural ornament and their general coherence as an obvious group.

In the mid 16th century, the court architecture was centred in Fife-Stirling-Edinburgh, with buildings such as St Mary's College, and the Castle, at St Andrews; but by the 1620s-30s, it was centred upon the Lothians - perhaps specifically Edinburgh. It is not seen in the middle-sized/lesser houses of areas outwith the Lothians (such as Gilbertfield), nor is it generally seen outwith

east/central Scotland (though derivative examples are). There are indeed no known royal works (from a confessedly poor statistical sample) of the period done in a different style; while, for instance, a 'lesser' house such as Staneyhill, is a mainstream example of the group - no doubt primarily (it appears) because it, and its builder, were in the Edinburgh area.<1> The other side of the coin: the 1627 chimney piece made in Scotstarvit, Fife, for Sir John Scot, Lord Scotstarvit, - a naive design for the time - shows that not all of the courtier class used the same masons/architects.<2>

At the outset, we have to identify what is to be the method of approach of this study: the methodology. Documentary sources can take us only part of the way, so substantial reliance is placed upon the visual evidence - in principle of course a legitimate approach, given that historic buildings are themselves primary 'documents', which, if scrutinised, can inform.

But how far is it legitimate to found a significant portion of an architectural study on such evidence, and how far, in this case, can the visual evidence compensate for the comparative lack of the documentary? What arguments can be made to put any interpretation "beyond reasonable doubt"?

We have seen that from existing documentation, the principal architect's name associated with these buildings

is that of James Murray - particularly at the royal palaces, at Parliament House and his own house, Kilbaberton. The role of William Wallace, it has been argued, was subordinate. John Mylne, elder, does not emerge as a major figure until the 1630s (the latter part of our period),^{<3>} and if William Aytoun is to be judged by Innes House, his only documented design, then he can not be described as having progressed the course of architectural development by far, as Innes is in great measure derivative: an L-plan with square tower in the re-entrant angle, its parapet ornament derived from that of Murray's Parliament House, pinnacles over the angles a simplified version of those at Kilbaberton, the large square stair tower already used at Hill House 17 years previously.^{<4>} The quality of the Innes sculptural detail is far inferior to that of the Foulis of Ravelstoun monument (believed to be his work - though whether as designer or sculptor is uncertain) and the Heriot's detailing with both of which Aytoun is associated; probably a straightforward illustration of the difference between provincial and metropolitan masons.^{<5>} Hill House of c.1623, near Dunfermline, has strong similarities with Innes; an L-plan, the main stair set outwith the body of the house in the usual place, though like Innes its tower is much more generously-proportioned than on most contemporary examples.^{<6>} To help with architectural context: the "geometric", or "symmetricising" L-plan with angle turret (as opposed to the main run of "irregular" L-plan houses identified by MacGibbon & Ross), developed

from the L-plan of such as Dunderave to the symmetrical splayed house characterised by Glamis (which pattern remained a popular house type well into the Restoration period).^{<7>} Thus, whilst not in their own right especially progressive buildings in terms of design, Innes and Hill House are nonetheless both representatives of the forward-looking attitude to design in the period. But their character is different from such as Staneypath - buckle-quoined and probably of the 1620s/30s, and surely a much more elegant design when complete - with a wavy parapet like that of Duddingston church (infra). All this contrasts with houses like Gylen (1587), or Gilbertfield (1607/9). There is evidently a difference in the approach of the designers of all these houses, and only Staneypath is seen as mainstream court style.

The treatment of the various court-style houses (for example of pediment detailing) is discussed below, and the various similarities between buildings in this group. The fact that royal works - such as Edinburgh, Linlithgow and Holyrood - are evidently part of the group is obviously a significant point too. These are buildings which all share the same repertoire of detailing and of other treatment: similarities which require explanation. Thus a visual study can reduce itself to, in a sense, an elaborate game of 'snap', following the use of one detail or idea from one building to another, in much the way that has to be done with interpretation of mediaeval buildings,^{<8>} where again, documentation is slight, firm attributions very

rare indeed. Then, perhaps one of the most generally accepted interpretations of all to found upon the visual evidence: that masons working at Dunfermline Abbey Kirk had also worked at Durham.<9>

In this country, by far the best analogy to the present method of analysis is that made by Steer and Bannerman in their study of the Late Mediaeval sculptural works of the West Highlands.<10> As with this present study, they noted that artistic detailing;

a) shared a common range of ideas seen on the architectural subjects of their study; these ideas were

b) executed to within a particular range of sculptural expertise, from which a classification could be made. They also noted

c) that this ornament, associated with monumental sculpture, had also been used on artefacts, such as the Queen Mary harp, the Eglinton and Fife caskets and the Guthrie bell-shrine.<11>

Their work presented their case very effectively, and still comprises the standard text on the subject: indeed, one can hardly envisage its findings being overturned other than in terms of detail.<12> They looked at the existing known evidence, which - much more than in this present study - was basically visual, and although written

about by previous authors, the latter had all failed to properly appreciate all that they were able to discern. From an "overview", possible only with a thorough knowledge of a significant corpus of structures/monuments, it became evident that much of the material was of a fairly narrow period in date (the few decades either side of 1500), and was of significantly variable quality. The interpretation they made - viz. that this class of monumental work was confined to the West Highlands, belonged in date to a fairly tight period, and there had existed several schools of craftsmen turning out this work - is perfectly convincing. It is perfectly clear that the artists responsible for the Kilchoman or Campbelton crosses could not in any substantive way have had an input to the design of the monuments at Fincharn, or Kilmichael. Indeed, if the 'Iona school' they identified is analagous with the best examples of the Murray period buildings, then the slightly inferior 'Kintyre school' might be analagous to detailing such as that seen at eg Dean, where the treatment is evidently of this style, but marginally less well executed. Repertoire of detailing and of formulae may have (in both periods cited) been close indeed, but the quality of product is quite dissimilar. They (Steer and Bannerman) pointed to the connection between stone-carving and the church; between the church and the patronage of the Lordship of the Isles,<13> in the same way that this account points to the patronage of those who were influential in the Scottish administration; and they were able to recognise Iona as the centre of this

art,<14> in the same way that Edinburgh/Lothians can now be seen as the centre of the Murray period court style.

Steer and Bannerman estimated there were more than 600 existing or otherwise known monuments,<15> whilst this study can cite only a much smaller number of buildings; but the bald figures do not correspondingly lessen the quality of this study; especially when we consider that each individually patterned pediment (and at Heriot's alone, Blanc counted 209 - 2 were duplicates) and ornamented architectural feature is the equivalent to each sculptured slab in the Steer and Bannerman report.<16> Besides, they were limited, basically, to funerary works and crosses, the Alasdair Crotach monument in Rodel being the only monument which allowed for a range of disparate elements not used elsewhere. The study, on the other hand, of the Murray period comprises the wide range of differing classes of building. Compare, then, how clear it is from the visual evidence that the craftsmen responsible for Parliament House were not the same people responsible for the reconstruction of Caerlaverock: for though both are buildings of the 1630s, both adorned with a wealth of sculptural detail, the visual character of the two buildings and of that ornament is quite different. The point is that where documentary evidence is sparse, we must rely on sources other than the documentary: primarily, the visual. And this type of approach, far from being discredited, has, as shown, been deployed successfully - to acclaim - in the recent past.

This same 'visual categorisation' has been used by Fawcett, in his classification of the various Scots tracery types.<17> But this study can be seen too as cautionary: for whilst on the one hand, he has demonstrated that analysis of the visual evidence can lead both to firm - and to fairly firm - conclusions being drawn, his methodology has led to a classification system that is on occasion debateable: for instance, by B2 on p177, a 2x version of B7 on p175, being categorised as if products of a different window-design type.<18> So a visual analysis has to adopt a sound system of categorisation, and conclusions drawn or suggested must be founded only upon what the evidence allows.

But in terms of documentation, we are in fact a lot better off in this study than were Steer and Bannerman in theirs. We can refer to a sizeable level of primary material contained both in public/national records (most particularly the Accounts of the Masters of Works, the Register of the Privy Council and the various Town Council Minutes, as well as some private archives). Thus, we have a significant quantity of documentation, from which we can (as is seen) extract much; and the linking of Murray and Wallace with the royal works - the premier works - confirms the significance of their role in all this.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEW COURT ARCHITECTURE

So what, precisely, are the ideas, features and details shared by buildings within this group which help to define and to characterise it?

The principal features are listed below. They can be divided into two groups: those which represent a continuity from earlier work, and those which represent innovation. (Not distinguishable to any satisfactory degree is the input of a professional architect/designer, as opposed to that of professional designer/executant mason.)<19>

Continuity

As noted above, the national interest continued in use of

- 1) monumentality and in
- 2) martial symbolism. Besides generalities, there were also
- 3) particular favoured details. For instance, the curve-ended lintel: flat-lintelled, curved at the corners where lintel and jambs meet. The detail was used from at least the late Gothic period onwards (eg the pulpitum screen at Lincluden) and was a characteristic feature in much of the architectures of James IV's time (eg at Linlithgow, on the stair turrets), and Stirling, on the Great Hall. Perhaps the idea came from France, where it was also favoured in the late Gothic/transitional/Renaissance periods. As used

in Murray's period, sometimes an upward point is introduced mid-way on the lintel, forming a depressed-ogee shape - a detail which remained popular in to the Restoration/early 18th century period, seen eg at Cammo, Gallery and Craigdarroch. This curve-ended lintel was used on the Skelmorlie aisle flank windows, but is most commonly seen on doorways. In the next century the motif was picked up by William Adam who used it often on fireplaces, and, for instance, on the quadrants of Arniston. [Plates I & II]

Innovation

1) The most obviously 'new' feature is the copious use of North European-type Mannerist ornament such as strapwork and leathery panels. The latter feature is seen at Mar's Wark and at the 1566 overdoor panel at Edinburgh palace, but in Murray's period this type of ornament come to be much more a characteristic.

2) Used principally on window-heads, stacks or gatepiers is a horizontal beading of standard profile: semi-circular, with a fillet at its bottom, the whole placed a distance below the cornice in such a way as to show the area above as representing the entablature - the frieze commonly left blank, but occasionally (as at Winton) enriched by sculpture. This detail is seen repeatedly used below dormer head pediments, as well as on gatepiers such

as those at Moray House or Staneyhill, and on chimney stacks, as at Parliament House. [Plate III]

3) Flat-recessed moulding/profile: the curve-ended form of the above-noted lintels is used on masons' profiles; ie on a wall-plane it is a flat shallow recess, its narrow ends curved outwards and raised to the level of the main wall-plane. The moulding might be used as a chamfer between 2 arrises, as on the Parliament Hall stair turret window, substituted for a flat margin as on the Heriot's chapel windows, or in triple-combination (ie on the chamfer, the margin and the ingoe) as on the chimneys of Baberton and the Argyll Lodging, and on the doorways of the Laigh Parliament Hall and the Holyrood forecourt door. Elsewhere, it appears on pilasters on some Heriot's aedicules. The shape is also the section of some pieces of strapwork. [Plate III]

4) The treatment of pilasters/columns in this group of buildings is also distinctive - typically, they are fluted and reeded, discs or looped straps at the bases and at the necking, Corinthian capitals - when used - with the centre or mid-way volutes fully as prominent as those at the angles, giving a very rich effect and firm-looking support.

5) buckle quoins: best known from their use at Heriots, but used elsewhere in a variety of forms, and dividing into an eastern and a western group. The Kilbaberton

quoins, the earliest dateable and the simplest in treatment, may be the progenitors. These quoins represent a modification of the buckle motif, used like decorative fastening to secure the angles of a building, like the corners of a box. They appear to represent a Scots innovation.<20> [Plate IV]

The 'counter-buckle' (ie alternate) stones typically have a wavy profile. On these at Kilbaberton the ornament is simplest, their profile that of the round-ended lintel (later examples elaborate on this basic pattern).

6) treatment of pediments is distinctive, and can be classified into three groups:

(i) Culross-type pediments: here the triangular pediments are (generally) of a more "correct" Italianate shallow pitch than on most previous or contemporary mainstream Scots buildings (cf Culross Palace, where pediments are of the steeper pitch type associated with both Scotland and France), while it is, unusually, the top edge of the raking members which intersect with the ends of the horizontal cornice, and not the bottom edge of the cymatium, as was usual, and as was shown by Serlio, Palladio, Vignola and the other major contemporary and influential treatises, in their versions of the Orders. On three buildings - Culross Abbey House, royal palace blocks at Edinburgh and Linlithgow, the profile moulding is identical but for a single fillet moulding missing at the

top faces of the Culross pediment cornices. Although sometimes used elsewhere, this treatment given the pediments is certainly not common, either within or outwith Scotland, though it can be seen on individual pediments at three other buildings which also belong to this court style group: viz. Moray House, Canongate; the Argyll Lodging, Stirling; and Pitreavie, Fife (where, incidentally, the above-noted string course profile was again used). [Plate V]

The idea was used at Clonbeith, 1607, and at Aiket, both Ayrshire (from whence - perhaps significantly - came Cunningham of Robertland). But for clarity, this type of pediment will be referred to as "Culross-type" on the grounds that Culross has the earliest known examples on a major and progressive building of the type.

(ii) Flat-ended pediments, a pattern which also appears to originate with the Murray/Wallace series of buildings, for it is first noted at the stair turret at Linlithgow, of 1620. As with the Culross-type, this type has (usually) the more 'correct' shallow pitch, but differs in that it has flattened ends, ie the raking (or curved) members intersecting with the horizontal cornice a distance in from its ends: significantly, still avoiding the mainstream and generally preferred pediment treatment. The moulding is often deeper, or more muscular, than the Culross-type. [Plate VI] The flat-ended type from the 1620s became more popular than the Culross type as did a

3rd type,

(iii) strap-worked pediments whose form is self-explanatory, and which are not defined in extent by a classical moulding.

7) Triglyphs and guttae: These are treated in an 'unorthodox' way. Commonly, there are only 3/4 guttae rather than the orthodox 6, while on the triglyphs the ornament is, 'correctly', V-shaped, but 'incorrectly' raised from the main wall-plane instead of 'correctly' incised. The detail is first seen at Edinburgh Palace, but was later used at Heriots (refectory door), and the Pinkie well-head. Thereafter, it was used on the Restoration period Holyrood Palace (another example of the 'continuity' extending beyond Murray's time). [Plate VII]

Contrasted with the aedicule over the 1578 Regent Morton's gateway at the Castle,<21> which has, broadly, the "correct" treatment, it can be seen that the 'correct' form of rendering fluted detail was well-known before Murray's time, and that as with the pediment treatment discussed above, liberties were being taken with the architectural rules, an "incorrectness" that is almost baroque in character. This idiosyncratic triglyph detail is seen in the architecture of the Low Countries, where similar - or greater - liberties were taken by de Keyser on triglyphs at the Westerkerk, Amsterdam (1631),<22> and

the Noorderkerk (c. 1620).<23>

8) Following on from the preceding: often on doorways the frieze is ornamented or otherwise emphasised at the centre and ends only - as was done at for instance Parliament House and Glasgow College; again, an arrangement still seen in the Restoration period, at eg Tulliallan Old Kirk (1675), but an idea common to countries such as Holland (supra), England, France and Germany: ideas in interchange.

* * *

So, as with any other other European state of the time, Scots architecture had a 'uniqueness' in its own vocabulary, combining a range of imported ideas with native and pre-existing ones. The individuality of this architecture is manifested by the range of ideas used, and in treatment for instance of pediments, with (discounting the strap-worked, which has obvious parallels in North European Mannerism elsewhere) a conscious decision taken to avoid the 'proper', or orthodox way of designing pediments.

A significant point to emphasise is that where these designs deviate from the norm, they were not arrived at by mistake, or by accident. The triglyph raised detail was no misreading of a 2-dimensional paper pattern, and to argue

it would be missing the point; it would also demand the inferiorist belief that architects/masons of the period were much more ignorant than the evidence allows. The architecture of this period displays a much more fundamental grasp of basic architectural principles for this simply to be a mistake noticed by nobody, given that it is repeated so often and for so long. It can therefore only have been intentional, as the use of mouldings and of architectural proportion is of a consistently high standard. The same is true of the distinctive, unorthodox, pediment detailing: that is, deviation from the accepted norms cannot be other than quite intentional.

Use of such 'unorthodox' detail demonstrates three things:

1. The interest in, and elaborating upon, the architecture of other European countries; and
2. The enormous cultural self-confidence of the nation, by introduction of bold new ideas (such as buckle-quoins) and self-assured use of a muscular architecture.
3. The desire to build in a distinctive national - if, after regnal union, partially English-influenced style - meant that architectural and artistic patronage could survive the loss of the court after 1603, in a way that literary and (to an extent) musical patronage - for which the court had traditionally been chief patron - could not. The self-confidence evident in architecture could not

apply to all the arts in equal measure, but it is the same self-confidence which led to continuing of the national style in the Restoration period, at, for instance, Glamis.

* * *

Footnotes

1. MacKechnie, Architectural History, 1988, pp.115-6; Cast & Dom, II, pp.200-201 ['Hopetoun Tower']
2. Gifford, Fife, pp.409-11, pl.58
3. Colvin, Biographical Dictionary, pp.569-70
4. Cast & Dom, II, pp.202-3; V, p.561
5. See chapter 12
6. RCAHMS, Fife, Kinross & Clackmannan, pp.123-4, fig.249
7. See for instance the group in Cast & Dom, II, pp.68-203
8. A good example of this in England is seen in the work of a mason active first in the English West Country, evidently responsible for work at firstly, Glastonbury, and then Llandaff, the evidence for this being purely visual. See G. Zarnecki, Studies in Romanesque Sculpture (London, Dorian Press, 1979), p.III89 [sic].
9. Fawcett, The Abbey and Palace of Dunfermline, p.6
10. K. Steer and J. Bannerman, Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands (Edinburgh, RCAHMS, 1977).
11. ibid., p.1
12. See for instance the copious references to Steer and Bannerman in the various RCAHMS volumes of Argyll, 1-5 & 7.
13. Steer and Bannerman, p.208
14. ibid., p.208
15. ibid., p.1
16. Gifford, Fife, p.180
17. R. Fawcett, 'Scottish Mediaeval Window Tracery', in D. Breeze, ed., Studies in Scottish Antiquity (Edinburgh,

John Donald, 1984), ch 6.

18. Ditto A4 on p169 is a 2-bay version of A4 on p171, while two evidently co-eval and near-identical windows on the Iona tower are classified under different headings (*ibid.*, pp.165 and 173). Thus, the primary value of this paper is as a thumbnail sketch inventory; not as a meaningful classification.

19. The word 'profession' is here used in an anachronistic way, simply to convey to the 20th century reader the sense intended. cf. studies by Helen Dingwall (unpublished thesis in progress 1993, University of Edinburgh).

20. A MacKechnie, Architectural History, 1988, pp.107-19.

21. It - presumptuously - bears the Douglas Heart (of the Regent Morton) in its frieze, and therefore is unlikely to date from William Schaw's heightening of c.1582.

22. W. Kuyper, Dutch Classicist Architecture (Delft University Press, 1980), pl.24

23. *ibid.*, pl.79; where also is seen the "Scottish" idea of ornamenting a door-frieze at its centre and ends only. Perhaps the idea of a curve-ended lintel with lipped centre is another manifestation of the same idea; and similarly, with a centre boss to a curve-ended lintel, as seen for instance at Bruce's Moncrieffe.

* * *

CHAPTER 9: MURRAY PERIOD COURT STYLE: PHASE I

Introducing the period is a small series of major buildings, each discussed here in turn. These are the Dunbar House at Berwick, Culross Abbey House, the Dunfermline aisle at Dalgety and Pinkie. The latter two at least can be regarded in the context of the 'Italianising' architecture of the 3 decades after about 1580, as represented by Crichton, or the Stirling Chapel Royal.

The earliest documented work which can be ascribed to Murray is the great house in Berwick which in 1607 was being built for George Home, the Earl of Dunbar, and for which Murray was described as "surveyor and builder".^{<1>} This, as noted, is a crucial reference, as it shows that in 1607 (at least), Murray's role was as visiting supervisor of work for which he had responsibilities which an English observer regarded as being those which fitted his use of the term "surveyor" (the significance of which is discussed above). Given that this house was one of the greatest being built in the UK at that time, this gives a useful starting point in considering a) what was Murray's precise role where he was associated with architectural works, as well as b) the level of regard in which he was held by at least one of the greater nobility.

Berwick

The town of Berwick was lost to England in 1482, and its castle had been thereafter strengthened and carefully maintained by various English monarchs over the years – but around 1603, all of a sudden, it became in military terms obsolescent; and, consequently, was run down. It could now obtain a non-military function, and thus the Earl of Dunbar was able to locate his new house on precisely that newly-available site.<2> [Plate VIII]

The Earl of Dunbar was one of the greatest politicians in the immediate post-1603 period. As Sir George Home of Spott, he drew James' attention, and was elevated to senior English state posts shortly after James went south, one of the Scots whom James promoted in England.<3> Prior to 1603, Hume had already numbered Sheriff of Berwick among his titles. So early as 4th January 1604, grant of fee-farm of Berwick castle was made to Dunbar, along with sundry lands and fisheries belonging to it, and two windmills.<4>

When the new building began is unknown, but it was incomplete when the Earl died in 1611, and subsequently demolished. A single visual record is known, but conveys little information;<5> evidently, the house had string courses dividing the floors, and large mullioned and transomed windows with shallow-looking pediments over, like the (slightly later) royal palace blocks,

particularly the Edinburgh north flank window (infra). This view also shows a corner turret of Culross Abbey House type, all of which points towards affinities with the latter building. A contemporary description of the Berwick house by George Chaworth shows that 'the famous house my Lo: Dunbar ys building' certainly was impressive;

... the greatest squadron by much in England; and of that exceeding heygth, and yet magnificent turrets above that heygth, a goodlye front....and that uniforme proportion everye waye generally, as wold stodye a good architector to describe...", and the long gallery at Worksop "was but a garret in respect of the gallerye that would there be....<6>

'Exceeding height' suggests the Scots characteristic of monumentality, seen only slightly earlier at eg Fyvie, 'magnificent turrets above', the martial symbolism (also seen at Fyvie), while 'uniform proportion' suggests a regularly-proportioned, possibly flat-fronted, facade like that of Culross. Distinction can be drawn between a 'uniform' facade that is flat-fronted with regular bays (compare Duntarvie; or the early part of Floors), and the Fyvie/Scone type of facade which is 'regular', interrupted by advance/recess of wall-planes. As will be seen, the term 'uniform' in this context seems significant.

Another report, made by Sir William Brereton in 1636, exists;

A stately, sumptuous, and well-seated house or castle was here begun by the last Earl of Dunbar where the old castle stood: but his death put an end to that work. Here was a most stately platform propounded and begun: a fair long gallery joiced [= ?], not boarded, wherein is the largest mantle-tree [=timber fireplace

lintel] I have seen, near five yards long of one piece; this leaded over, which gives the daintiest prospect to the sea, to the town, to the land and the river.<7>

So, from the leads, the prospect was to be enjoyed: indicative of a flat roof of the type given by Murray to the Linlithgow north quarter and to Parliament House. Also, it is argued (infra), Culross was similarly given a flat roof originally.

Dunbar's house was evidently built on a scale to rival, or out-do, the houses of his English counterparts at Court. The lack of information we have on it is frustrating, but it shows the regard that Dunbar had for the Scottish Master of Works, preferring him to Murray's English counterpart, Simon Basil (now, incidentally - though evidently not then - rated as mediocre), or to the great number of people within the UK to whom he might alternatively have turned. Given the date of work in progress, the question arises of whether Cunningham of Robertland had been involved at the early stages: that is, this could have been a project which Murray inherited. There is no evidence either way, but the question arises.

Culross Abbey House

Culross was built for Edward Bruce, Earl of Kinloss, who emigrated in 1603 with his king. He became an English citizen, and a senior state official.<8> The house is

dated 1608, with a second datestone relating to the addition of a third storey in 1686.

The comparison drawn between the Dunbar house in Berwick and Culross Abbey house may be much more significant than is suggested above, for the latter house also has affinities with slightly later work which we know to be by Murray, and while Culross is virtually undocumented, and is now spoiled, parts of it survive and we have visual evidence of how it once looked.<9> Dated 1608, it is exactly contemporary with the Dunbar House, and so dates too from the early days of Murray's period in office. And of course, like the Berwick house, it was built for one of the country's greatest courtiers/politicians.

Culross had a strictly-symmetrical long, flat-fronted facade, with uniform bay spacing, square single-bay pavilions at either end. Neglected to ruin, it was radically reduced in the 1960s, with only the centre few bays retained. Another singular feature of the original house was the use of a double-pile plan.<10>

On the front facade, the base course is curved outwards but, suprisingly deep to the point of being squashed-looking; a treatment paralleled at the column bases of the Laigh Hall in Parliament House. The flat-recessed doorway moulding is almost identical to that on the doorway of the Skelmorlie Aisle, Largs (1636) (infra), and further similarities between Culross and other buildings

of the court style are discussed below. Here, the classical mouldings and their proportions were used with an authority seldom seen prior to that date though the aedicule pilasters are skinny, like those on the Moray House garden gateway, and showing a reluctance to dispense altogether with the thin pilaster of Morton Gateway type. Most obviously linking it to the Schaw period court style is the strict symmetry and uniformity of elevation, and it may well have been intended to have a symmetrical courtyard plan as had the Fyvie/Barnes group of the late 16th century, for the L-plan block with asymmetrical rear wing which we know from Slezer's view and from Burn's 1830s survey plan does not otherwise fit exactly in to the late 16th century pattern of the Schaw period court style, despite the strong emphasis on symmetry.<11> The use of a double-pile plan (not in itself a completely new idea) in combination with unvaulted ground floor also sets this building very much apart from its known predecessors, and though square angle pavilions were seen previously at Barnes (and, evidently, the Dunbar house in Berwick), the manner in which they are linked, ie only at the angles of a very long flat front, is first dateable here.<12>

Parallel can be drawn with the undated but nearby and near-contemporary Aberdour House (not the castle): having a long, plain and flat front with a uniform series of identical bays, but its pavilions are treated like square end bays set forward,<13> while Drum (1617) is on the other hand a provincial yet moderately early version of

the Culross formula, having again a long flat (though not quite regular) front with pavilions linked at the angles.<14> Indeed, the appearance at Culross of a long flat facade with strictly regular bays and aedicules was itself completely new in Scotland. It might be seen as emerging from the tradition of Falkland, the vertical bay divisions done away with, though French buildings such as Courances (Essone) (in which the same process took place) also provide parallels.<15> The possibility of Italy providing a more meaningful parallel, or inspiration, and the implications of such an interpretation, is discussed in the Conclusion of this work.

The arrangement of having a rank of stacks in the main range all set over the spine wall, was to be reproduced at Linlithgow.<16>

At ground floor are unvaulted rooms of sizeable scale, suggesting the possibility of public rooms having once been situated there (possibly an English idea, imported?), while at 1st floor level, symmetrically placed on plan, was a long gallery, the inner wall face of which was stone-panelled, the earliest known use of that detail in the country.

The added 3rd floor of 1686 is seen on Slezer's well-known view, with pitch roof, bell-shaped roofs (of the type used on the Culross Town House and Alloa Kirk) over the pavilions.<17> In enlarging the house, a decision had

evidently been taken to build upwards rather than outwards, and the whole was given a pitched roof.<18>

At the palace blocks of Edinburgh (1615-17) and Linlithgow (1618-21), Murray (working with Wallace) placed this same emphasis on symmetry, so far as the constraints of the jobs permitted, and on uniformity. Also like Culross, a double-pile plan was adopted for each building, and the ground floors were unvaulted (though the inclusion at Edinburgh of an earlier building placed constraints on the finished building); the palace roofs were flat and leaded, behind a corbelled parapet, but the earliest views of Culross already show the added 3rd storey, so its original roof form is unknown. The detailing between 1st and (added) 2nd floor comprises a corbel table with spouts and cornice: the arrangement seen at Parliament House, at the palaces of Edinburgh and Linlithgow north quarter; all of which raises the question of whether at the outset, Culross was similarly flat-roofed, as, evidently, had been the Dunbar house, the pitch roof added to Culross in the 1680s, ie at a time when fashion had changed. The parapetted Mercat cross at Preston is similar and similar treatment is seen in more elaborate form at Heriots'. Remember too that the Dunbar house in Berwick was "leaded over", ie it was almost certainly flat-roofed in similar manner. Provost Skene's House, Aberdeen, is another building in this category, at first sight a provincial and derivative version - though because of its similarity to Winton House, it is discussed below, rather than here, as

is Archbishop Spottiswoode's 1621 Dairsie Kirk, which also was originally flat-roofed (the Dairsie mouldings are recognisably belonging to Fife, which suggests that it was by a native architect).^{<19>} As on the (later) royal palace blocks, the ornament at Culross is restrained, with horizontal string courses. These strings are basically similar in profile on a series of buildings including these 2 royal palace blocks by Murray, Pinkie and Parliament House: a deep cavetto plus a fillet moulding top and/or bottom. The profile is straightforward and commonly seen in earlier work from whence it presumably derives, eg hood-mouldings at St Mary's, Haddington.

Another feature Culross shares with the palace blocks is the treatment of the window pediments: Culross-type.

Dunfermline Aisle

Only one other known building of this period was given stone-panelled interior walls, comparable with those at Culross: the Dunfermline aisle on St Bridget's church, Dalgety Bay. It was commissioned for Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline, builder of Fyvie and of Pinkie, and a close friend of William Schaw until the latter's death in 1602. Seton had a house which "formerly stood at a little distance from the Church of Dalgety".^{<20>} No trace, or view of this house is now known (though elements of landscaped grounds survive), but it was evidently

frequently used by him, and the fact that he chose Dalgety for locating his aisle suggests a particular fondness for his Fife connections, as he might equally have chosen to have his aisle at the church close to either of his great houses at Fyvie or Pinkie.<21>

The aisle is undated. In 1703, it was known to have been the Earl who had "caus'd bul't" it.<22> Traditionally, it dates from circa 1610,<23> though the author of the Memoirs says it "was supposed to have been erected by Chancellor Seton towards the end of the sixteenth century".<24> Perhaps it was built immediately following the death either of his first wife, Lillias Drummond (d.1601, at Dalgety), or his second, Grizel Leslie (d.1606), both of whom lie buried there.<25>

This aisle is an early example of this class of building, yet it compares too with much later developed ones, in having a family vault at ground level with Laird's loft above (though, curiously, no monument). Indeed, the aisle is a particularly handsome one, as would be expected for one of the few foremost political figures of the time. It is 2-storeyed and rectangular-plan, skew-gabled, and has a semi-polygonal stair turret at one corner, laird's retiring room in a square angle pavilion opposite, which again, is reminiscent of Culross. The polygonal or semi-polygonal (usually octagonal) turret, of which the Dalgety aisle is possibly the earliest known, came to be one of the commonest components of the court style, used on

buildings ranging from royal palaces to modest L-plan houses like Staneyhill.

The elevational treatment is very much conditioned by the internal requirements. Thus, the sealed vault at ground level is unwindowed, with only slit openings (though blocking on the west gable may indicate where a window was originally), while at the upper floor, the principal room is rectangular with openings placed in such a way as to preserve the rhythm of the wall panels, and a door at 2 diagonally opposing corners (at the right hand end of each long wall), one leading from the stairs, the other to the much smaller retiring room. The stone-panelled interior of the principal room is finished with a stone cornice, and that the ceiling was originally shallow segmental-vaulted above (and no doubt also painted) can be seen by its "ghost" on each gable. Plain rectangular panels are set in each gable over the cornice and below the line of the vault as well as over the entrance door, on its outside.

On the outside, on both the west gable (which is symmetrical, viewed from outside, but for the jamb on one side) and south flank are paired windows separated by a large square panel: the arrangement in miniature of the east front of the Edinburgh palace. It can be noted that the architecture is Classical, and not Gothic: a trend seen on ecclesiastical work only slightly earlier at the Stirling Chapel Royal (1594), but a process already in train by the time of James IV, as seen in the flat-

lintelled ecclesiastical works such as Innerpeffery (1508).

An interesting episode in the history of the aisle took place when after 1664, the parish minister, Andrew Donaldson, was ejected from his charge for not conforming to episcopacy. Archbishop Sharp had successfully overturned a warrant from the king annulling this, and Donaldson was permitted by the second Earl of Dunfermline to "reside, for many years, in the apartments in Dalgety Church". <26> We learn from this that the aisle must have been an apartment, self-contained, and the laird's loft presumably a gallery set against the west gable of the kirk, ie actually within the body of the kirk; also, the second earl evidently made little use of his seat in that kirk.

Pinkie House

Pinkie House was built for Chancellor Seton, Lord Fyvie and Earl of Dunfermline, builder of the Dunfermline aisle at Dalgety, discussed above, and of Fyvie. This was in 1613, according to an inscription recorded, but now concealed by additions: " Dominus Alexander Setonius hanc domum aedificavit, non ad animi, sed fortunarum et agelli modum 1613". Thus, it was "...built...not as he [ie Dunfermline] would have wished, but according to his means".<27> An existing 16th century house was

incorporated, its body greatly lengthened, following the external wall-planes, its jamb retained on the courtyard (main entrance) front; and a wing at the south end set - by this date, slightly surprisingly - not quite at right angles on plan. An enclosed courtyard may have been intended, for 'tusking' shows the intention, at least, to go beyond what was done. Thus, the house is a large L-plan, 16th century jamb projecting into the courtyard; 19th century additions front most of the eastern wing, while the south wing is of composite date.

Given the evident concern in these works for symmetry and uniformity - which failing, regularity - brought about by the introduction to architecture of classicism, and study of Humanism, one would have expected the two ranges to lie at right angles to one another on plan, and there may have been a reason such as incorporation of pre-existing fabric which prevented that being done.

The external ornament at Pinkie is perhaps even more restrained than that of the above palace buildings and Culross Abbey house, for there is no great series of dormer heads, but the same string course moulding is there again, on the east front, which has a long series of plain and regular window bays on a flat wall, openings basically equidistant and in uniform arrangement, again, reminiscent of Culross, while the north gable was given a pair of corbelled square bartizans, pyramid-roofed (perhaps ogee-domed originally, and leaded), very like those on

Edinburgh Castle, on John Boyd's Glasgow Tolbooth (begun 1626), which was closely imitative of the court style, the Gorbals Tower, and Murray's own Parliament House of the 1630s. Inside, there is a long gallery on the upper floor, as at Culross and (at least) several of the Schaw period and early 17th century court-style houses; but this time the ceiling round-ended/ basket-arched in profile. The Culross gallery was south-facing, all its windows in one of the long walls, that at Pinkie with its flanks facing E-W windowed on its east wall only (though additions to the west obscures any windows which may have been on that wall), but its most distinctive feature on its plan is the big bay window on the south gable to enable viewing to the south. Three-storeyed, mullioned and transomed, this bay window is unlike anything else of its date in the country, though an undated 17th century plan from the Yester muniments,<28> for the re-modelling of an unidentified courtyard-plan house, proposes the addition of 2 such windows, on 2 opposing elevations, each window 16 feet wide on the inside: "an English innovation", declares Foreman,<29>, the source of the Pinkie window might equally be Northern European, for the arrangement is paralleled eg at Borggaardsanlaeg, Denmark.<30> The extensive use at Pinkie of corbie-stepped gables is not seen on any other buildings of this court group, but the reason for their use here lies in the fact of the retention of an existing building.

We learn too that Seton not only "built ane noble house",

but that he also built "brave stone dykes about the garden and orchard, with other commendable policie about it...".<31>

Unlike the other houses in this group so far mentioned there is nothing to suggest that the main roof was originally flat, and it instead followed the steep pitch of that on the existing 16th century range, though the upper part of the early jamb was rebuilt, and its flat roof concealed by a parapet - probably an early example of a jamb thus treated, and a form of treating a jamb which became popular, seen subsequently on a host of buildings.<32>

The flat, and uncommonly long, Pinkie east (garden) front has a series of regular - not exactly uniform - window bays with string courses dividing the floors, which might be compared with the Culross front. Similarly, an impressive rank of wall-head stacks on that front compares with the close-spaced groups at Culross and Linlithgow, though these last are set above the spine - Pinkie, being single pile, has of course no spine to carry the flues, but continues the idea of having a single flue-bearing wall (at Pinkie, a consequence of having a gallery). But in overall composition - not in detail - the external appearance of Pinkie appears to lack the artistry of the mainstream court style buildings; a fact difficult to explain, though had a flat roof been an option, and were it to be seen in its unaltered/intended state, one might

judge it differently. For it is the garden front of the 1613 work one now sees - equivalent to the plain 'rear'/garden elevations of Kilbaberton, and, to a lesser degree, Winton, which also have regular unadorned window bays on the elevation opposite from their courtyard fronts (the entrance fronts on two last-mentioned buildings bears the bulk of the external ornament).

* * *

Footnotes

1. P.R.O. SP14/62, no 5

2. The Berwick monuments, as a convenience, were formerly administered from an Edinburgh branch office, but when the 'Office of Works' begat 'Ancient Monuments' in 1978, responsibility for their care was transferred to England (though responsibility for Scottish and nearby monuments was transferred to the Scottish Office in 1969).

3. He became Master of the Wardrobe, and a member of the English Privy Council; for a time, he was also Chancellor of the Exchequer in England, the only Scotsman of his time (besides James, of course) to achieve a major position in England. See M. Lee, 'James VI's Government', p43. Robertland's position of Master of Works was not, in political terms, of the slightest consequence. The Earl of Kinloss (infra) became Master of the Rolls, but also became a naturalised Englishman.

4. CSP Dom 1603-10, p.64; a re-grant of the same was made March 14th 1604 (ibid., p.87)]

5. British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, 1850-2-23-809; copy in NMRS filed under XSD-England/165/1

6. Accounts, II, p.lxix; M. Girouard, Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House, pp.19-20

7. P. Hume Brown, Early Travellers, p.133

8. Member of their Privy Council and Master of the Rolls; Accounts p.lxviii

9. Details of Scottish Domestic Architecture (Edinburgh Architectural Association, 1922), pl.24

10. S. Foreman, Scottish Country Houses and Castles, pp.47-9; Fife, pp.157-8
11. Though cf. Pinkie. Of Culross Abbey House, A.H. Millar, Fife, Pictorial and Historical (Cupar, 1895), II, p.260, states that Sir Robert Preston of Valleyfield "...demolished the greater part of the old building, and reconstructed it on a more magnificent scale in 1830."
12. The pavilions at Barnes and at the Earl's Palace Birsay give the impression of having a more secure grasp of the main building when viewed on plan, so that access to them is not necessarily diagonally through the corner.
13. Fife, pp.65-6
14. Cast & Dom, II, pp.436-40
15. Phillipe Seydoux, Chateaux et Mansoirs de la Brie, (Editions de la Morande, 1991), p.30
16. Though it cannot be categorically said that the James IV-period quarter which it replaced was not also also double-pile. Dunbar suggests (a more plausible idea) that this quarter had a gallery similar to that yet seen in the south quarter [J.G. Dunbar, 'Some aspects of the planning of Scottish royal palaces in the sixteenth century', Architectural History, 1984, fig.1].
17. Slezer, Theatrum Scotiae, pl.47
18. 19th century enlargements to designs by William Burn, in contrast, were built outwards.
19. See chapter 12
20. The Statistical Account of Scotland, vol.15 (1795), p.269 ["The Earl of Dunfermline's seat formerly stood at a little distance from the church of Dalgety, but little of it now remains."].
21. For account of his burial there, see Memoir of Chancellor Seton, pp.141-4
22. ibid., p.144
23. Fife, pp.170-171
24. Memoir of Chancellor Seton, p.146
25. Peerage, p.372
26. Memoir of Chancellor Seton, p.163
27. ibid., p.176; Forman, Scottish Country Houses and Castles, p.60. Compare inscription at Caroline Park, for implications of simplicity and humility in similar context, juxtaposed with similar display of wealth.

28. A. Rowan, 'Yester House, East Lothian - 1', Country Life, 9th August, 1973, p.358

29. Forman, Scottish Country Houses and Castles, p.60

30. Lorenzen, Det Danske Hus, p.76

31. Memoir of Chancellor Seton, p.176

32. Monimail Tower of 1578 (fragment of a giant palace) was evidently flat-roofed from the outset; Hoddum appears to be derivative of Pinkie, whilst the idea of flat-roofed stair turrets on gable-roofed houses was used at Hill House, Innes, and Staneypath.

CHAPTER 10

The hamecoming of 1617, Royal visit of 1633 and Royal Works

Introduction

His appointment in 1607 to the post of Master of the King's Works meant that responsibility for the building operations undertaken for or on behalf of the king fell to Murray (we have noted above that he may in fact have held similar responsibilities since at least 1604).^{<1>} The most prestigious jobs by far, if not always the biggest, in Edinburgh Castle palace block and the north quarter of Linlithgow, they also provide us with the first 2 new-build structures which have both a documentary link with his name and which survive in recognisable form - if devoid of any coherent surviving interior scheme of decoration.

In reality, there was no real need for the Scots royal palaces after 1603, though at first it was stated (in the way that political statements are made) that the country would see a lot more of her kings than was to be the case: James, having left in 1603, visited not every three years as promised, but once, in 1617; Charles, once in 1633, for his coronation which took place 8 years after his succeeding to the throne, and again in 1641 when in a changed political situation he now wanted to woo the

Scots, that he might use their help in support of his ultimately hopeless position; Charles II also visited once when he, too, was crowned, but as something more approaching a fugitive from England and certainly not on a state visit with attendant English train, as seen on the 1617 and 1633 royal visits.<2> When still Duke of York, the politically problematic future James VII was packed off to Edinburgh, to be out of the way - and that was the extent of royal presences, until George IV was persuaded to visit Scotland in 1822.<3>

Dunbar and Imrie make the point that although he set out with an element of work to do, James in 1617 looked upon his stay in Scotland as being "something of a holiday", proclaiming that bucks should not be hunted prior to his visit to Falkland, and directing too that tennis racquets and balls should be provided for the tennis court during his stay.<4>

But as James and Charles kept promising to come, and there was a genuine desire among Scots that they should come, some maintenance and even upgrading of the royal buildings was initially done. For the two state visits, an enormous amount of preparation was made, which included major building operations. Efforts to maintain the palaces appear to have been at least sometimes initiated by the Scots, rather than the king (the latter having a lot less interest in royal visits to Scotland than had the Scots), in one case, possibly a direct result of a suggestion by

Murray when a grant for this purpose was made by Charles I on 20 April 1630, "with advyce and consent" of the Earl of Morton. This grant imposed a levy of £1,000 monthly on "Custumes of wyne or any ony [sic] utheris his hienes rentis and reveueis..." to be used for "beitting, mending, repairing, uphauling and making new of all the breckis defaultis, decayes, and ruines of his majesties castellis of Edinburgh, Striveling, and Dumbartane and of his hienes palices of Holyruidhous, Striveling, Linlithgow, Falkland and Dunfermling, and of his hienes Chaples of Holyrudhous, Striveling, Linlithgow and Falkland with all utheris his majesties chapellis being within the precinct of his majesties said palices and castellis. Togidder with the tinneis courtis thairof and all utheris houses being within the saidis castellis and palices pertening to his majestie". Charles at this point had not yet made his journey north, and the grant was to last as long as the longer lived between Murray and Alexander.<5>

The astute handling of the Scottish exchequer by Sir Gideon Murray of Elibank, Treasurer Depute, came to an end with his death in 1621.<6> The post of Treasurer had been held by the Earl of Dunbar until his death in 1611, and from 1616 it was held by the Earl of Mar. But the post of Treasurer Depute evidently carried a broadly similar authority, and, deprived of Gideon Murray's creative accounting skills, the royal building works led to enormous debts being built up until by the mid-1630s

further investment was near impossible (even Murray had been known to pay his workmen from his own pocket, to keep work progressing);^{<7>} and after the initial efforts made with regard to the royal buildings – the accounts point to a remarkable level of activity up till about the time of Murray's death – the reality was faced: Scotland would not again be home to a resident monarch. Even so early as prior to Charles' visit in 1633 some clearance had to be made of lodgings built by the pragmatic and realistic at the gate of Falkland Palace before the king's visit,^{<8>} and people who had installed themselves within the palace also had to be cleared, and furnishings found in accordance with an inventory which by then was presumably some years old. The more enterprising of those who had access to the palace had evidently "lifted" things, and while many or perhaps all items were doubtless returned in time for the royal visit, most of the royal furnishings have now gone without trace, except for a few pieces of furniture from the royal palaces which turned up last century in the possession of collectors such as Noel-Paton.^{<9>}

Where they might serve a military purpose, the royal buildings were kept and altered to suit these needs (hence the alterations at the palaces of Edinburgh and Stirling Castles, where in each case the palaces and great halls were given over to the military, with consequent degradation of interiors). With the notable exception of Holyrood, symbolically reconstructed for Charles II, who

recognised that one palace in Scotland was one more than he would ever use (he never saw the new Holyrood), they were otherwise neglected to ruin. Though parts of Falkland were "saved" (not at the expense of the selectively "Scotophile" Queen Victoria, whose interest in Scotland did not extend towards such things, but at the expense of the 3rd Marquess of Bute, who commissioned a scheme of restoration in c1890, using the architect John Kinross),^{<10>} little more than a fragment of the south range outer wall of Dunfermline palace survives, and only the shell of Linlithgow. So while to a greater or lesser degree stonework survives in each case the interiors are almost totally lost, either destroyed by their degradation to basic military purposes, as at Edinburgh and Stirling (Dumbarton was largely rebuilt in the 18th century), or else simply through vandalism, neglect and abandonment, as at Dunfermline, Falkland and Linlithgow. Not a single plaster ceiling survives, and only fragments of mural decoration and timber work including the Falkland Chapel survive (the "royal Pew" is evidently a reconstruction made for the Marquess of Bute, with little of 17th century date). Fragments of a plaster ceiling from Linlithgow survive, and a painted frieze at Stirling, in the Chapel Royal: I am ignoring the little more pre-Bruce interior ornament of the royal palaces that survives from outwith our period. A reference of 9th June 1617 shows that moulds for the plasterers were brought from Kellie for use at Edinburgh;^{<11>} other moulds for the plasterers (two of whom were Richard Cob and Robert Quhitheid) were made by

Ralph Rawlinson, a skilled carver brought from England.<12> Analysis of the fabric of the royal works is therefore now confined almost totally to the stonework; basically the plan forms and elevational treatment, and sculptural detail such as pediments and chimney pieces. Pitiful as that is, at least interiors of privately-owned houses, such as Pinkie, Winton and Murray's own home at Kilbaberton, have, generally speaking, fared a lot better and they help us form an idea of what these palaces might originally have been like inside: for they are of the 'court style', and worked on by the same people.

Hamecoming - 1617 and the royal visit of 1633

James' royal visit had been long-delayed. Even despite his delay in fulfilling his promise to visit, "the Councillors and all his flatterers implored him not to go, but he had made up his mind".<13> Then, when he had gone, it was "said that the [English] Privy Councillors went on their knees to pray the King not to go to Scotland; now they were on their knees again to have him back" from what Stopes called his "holiday";<14>

A contemporary description of James' visit is also given by Stopes, in the form of a letter from John Crowe younger, a Scotsman, to a Mr Alden, an Englishman. James had arrived in Edinburgh on the Friday; he spent the next day "Hawking and Hunting. The second day which was the

Sabbath day he stayed in the Chapel Royal for sermons...and upon the Monday he went over the water in a barge made by the Citie of Edinburgh for him...".<15> It would be small surprise were it to emerge that the Master of Works had an involvement in the fitting out of that barge.

For the king's birthday on 19th June, and on the week following, special festivities were organised which might well have involved input from the master of works;

About 9 or 10 the king came down from the Castle to the Abbey. Great bonfires blazed in the streets, and in the outer court of the Abbey a boy of 9 years old made an oration to the king in Greek... Then from a window in the palace the king with his nobles saw fireworks, and a play amid the fireworks. Two castles were created, the Palace of St Andrew, and the Castle of Envy, played by the young men of Edinburgh, and wonderful devises and more to follow if the King had only stayed longer... Upon the 26th day of June there was a banquet given to the King and his nobles by the City of Edinburgh. There was a house built of Timber and glass round about, made of purpose for it, hung with tapestry...<16>

Someone obviously designed these constructions. Perhaps it was a craftsman or tradesman such as Anderson, who painted the interior of James' birthplace for his visit; but it might equally - if not more probably - have been a job that fell to the master of works, especially if we recall the role in England of Inigo Jones in designing for masques.<17> The idea of a "toy" house or palace as an amusement for royalty was by no means new, a timber and turf palace having been built for James V, almost a century earlier.<18>

And of course, the Royal visit of 1633 was also an occasion of great festivity and of theatre. We learn from Balfour that

For many ages this Kingdom had not seene a more glorious and Staitly entrey, the streets being all railed and sanded; the chieff places quher he passed wer sett outt with staitly triumphall arches, obeliskes, pictures, artificiall mountains, adorned with choyse musicke, and diverse otheres shewis.<19>

The 'pictures' were the work of George Jamieson,<20> but once again, the question arises of who it was designed the triumphal arches and obelisks (note that obelisks are very much a part of the architectural repertoire of contemporary architecture). The artificial mountains, whilst on the one hand a component of renaissance festival design, are interesting as possibly an early example of Scotland presenting itself as characterised by such things, still a favourite for shortbread tins. But they had a far greater significance: for there was a huge timber parnassus, on which, amidst a double-topped mountain "stopit full of books" were displayed representations of the "ancient worthies of Scotland for learning".<21> The idea was to represent Scotland as characterised by learning and scholarship, and as - lest Charles or anyone seek to ignore the fact - an ancient nation, with a a great history.

Edinburgh

Of Murray's known works carried out in anticipation of the 'hamecoming', Edinburgh Palace was begun first, in 1615, and completed in 1617, in time for James' visit.<22> An existing building was incorporated, evidence of which is clearly seen in the lower parts of the walling of the east front, and in the irregularities of the plan.

Spine-walled, a plain rectangular-plan range and flat-roofed, it is at one end of a big L-plan block; it has therefore only three full elevations, of which two are near-intact - that to the courtyard, ie west, having its fenestration altered and its off-centre tower heightened.<23>

The east front, overlooking the city (the block is placed in the only position to command a view down the Lawnmarket, demonstrating an interest in the use of vista) is ashlar-faced (the other walls are rubble, harled originally) and is as near to symmetrical as could, in the circumstances, be; square bartizans with 20th century replacements of the original leaded ogee domes (missing by at least 1746, but shown on Rothiemay's fairly accurate 'bird's eye' view, 1647) crenellated parapet between articulated with the 3 inner crenellations made wider - a pleasing sophistication.<24> This formula of domed square angle bartizans linked by a crenellated parapet may take something from English prototypes such as Bolsover little castle (1613),<25> particularly since Murray's court link would doubtless have kept him informed of contemporary

works in England. The Edinburgh windows are plain, unmargin'd, with chamfered arrises (= where the main wall meets the inside faces of the openings), and over each a flat Culross-type pediment (the profile moulding identical but for an extra fillet-moulding). In the tympanum of each, a pair of festoons suspended on a representation in stone of a rope doubled and looped about a metal ring. This detail was evidently favoured by Murray, as it is seen on the one surviving ground floor pediment of Murray's Parliament House, at Baberton and at Pitreavie - all given near-identical treatment - and in variant form at the Argyll Lodging (where used frequently) and at Linlithgow. Repetition of this same feature confirms that a link exists between all these buildings in their design and, it would follow, their designer(s); a point which forms one of the main thrusts of argument in this thesis.

Separating the three upper floor windows are, alternating, two square panels, one bearing a representation of the Honours of Scotland. Each is set in a richly-sculptured and deep frame with egg-&-dart outside, with a high-relief pattern on the inside face of the frame, like that on the Baberton sundial and seen too on the Skelmorlie monument and the Thomas Bannatyne monument at Greyfriars. The quality of carving is extremely high, probably the first dateable 17th century example of this quality which became characteristic of this group in the 1620s-30s, and much less 'wooden' than was the bulk of the sculpture of the previous generation, as represented by the first group of

monuments at Greyfriars (infra) or Scougal's monument to William Schaw (though of course sculptural treatment prior to then was again very high quality).

String courses are of the type and profile discussed above, at Culross, while the use of a wall-head parapet is seen later at Linlithgow, Heriots and Parliament House; there are lion masks and spouts too, again, as on some of the above buildings.

The bartizans, like those of Pinkie, are square, and have a Doric frieze over the topmost corbel course, triglyphs of the pattern discussed above.

The north flank of the palace is asymmetrical, mullioned and transomed windows on the left hand side (these are the windows most like those on the drawing of the Dunbar house in Berwick) of a near-centre turnpike (here, an octagon in plan), which is set at the point where the spine wall meets the outside wall and gives access to rooms on both sides. Traditionally, in one sense, the turnpike is partly expressed on the exterior and occupies a position at a principal room division (cf the Kilmartin-type plan evolved in the previous century), being half-engaged, the exposed part three-sided on plan plus a half length on either side where the turret is engaged, and an ogee-dome roof over an octagonal and ashlar-built top stage (the main walling is rubble). But in another sense, this stair is innovative, as - with the exception of Culross Abbey

House and the Dalgety aisle (both buildings already linked to this group), this appears to be the earliest known use in the country of a polygonal (as opposed to circular or square/rectangular) stair turret, suggesting that such turrets may derive from Murray's early works, or alternatively, from the Cunninghame-Murray 'office'. The same detail was later used by Murray at Linlithgow; and later still, it was used on the flanks of Heriot's. More significantly, the arrangement of a flat-fronted palace block having a semi-projecting polygonal stair/entrance tower placed mid-way along its length is something seen at Francis I's Blois (1515-25),^{<26>} and in Denmark, at Christian IV's Kronberg, and at Frederiksborg.^{<27>} It is also seen in lesser Danish houses such as Hollufgaard of 1577 (whose plan also has affinities with that of Culross - rectangular, square angle pavilions).^{<28>} The feature seems not to have been used (at least with the same degree of prominence) in England, nor in Holland; but in Scotland, France and Denmark, the feature is associated with royalty, indicating the existence of ideas common to all three of these countries. Possibly the royal architectural office, legacy of the pre-Reformation period, plus the Danish connections brought about via Anne go some way towards explaining this.

Also comparable with Frederiksborg is the Scottish way of composing a tiered architectural feature: in having a decorative door surround with a top stage of much lesser dimensions. The idea of elements being tiered in stages of

equal width is characteristic of French work from the late 15th century onwards, and in England, similar tiering of elements and of the orders came to be characteristic of Renaissance architecture. In Scotland this principle is exemplified by the gatehouse of St Andrews Castle (1550s). Scottish architecture in the 17th century took a different course, and took little or no interest in this sort of tiering, for as at Heriot's, the monuments at Greyfriars, and even the Restoration period designs such as the doorway to old Kincardine kirk (1675), the top stage was always of lesser dimensions, like the late 16th century gateways at Frederiksborg.<29>

Inside the Edinburgh palace block, some chimney pieces and other interior stone detail is recognisably of Murray's period, including the chimney piece in the crown room, its mantel shelf shorn. The second turnpike is near-centre on the west front, and it too is on an axis, that of a particularly-thick - and presumably, therefore, early - cross-wall. To the left were originally two identical bays (the windows now altered),<30> and four storeys; to the right a single wide bay with bigger openings and only three storeys. The rooms on the east side of the spine wall also have only three storeys, ie they have greater ceiling heights and they included the grander rooms, the principal royal apartment. These are the rooms which have the mullioned and transomed windows in the north flank. Some panels show already the direction that the court style architecture was heading, having leathery surrounds

of a mannerist type.<31>

So each turnpike also marks the division between a differing arrangement of floor levels. The moulding of the two main doorways, one in each turnpike, also appears previously in variant form at Culross - overall, basically classical, a fat roll-moulding at the ingoes, combined with an outer margin with classical moulding, the two separated by a deep and wide flat-recessed area. The doorway moulding at Linlithgow is almost identical, and as will be seen, this treatment was frequently used elsewhere, in variant form.

The earliest visual record of the interior lay-out of the palace is the above-cited mid-18th century Board of Ordnance plan. It shows the disposition of the windows previous to the mid-18th century alterations being made, including an elevation view of the courtyard front. It also contains a cross-section of the palace which shows that at that time there was timber-panelling with a rail at dado level, possibly part of the ornament installed for one of the royal visits, as work of such refinement is unlikely to date from the century post-1707, though possibly part of the work done in 1672, when the palace was fitted up as an official residence for the Duke of Lauderdale.<32>

Edinburgh works of Murray's period included construction of a new outer gateway, 'a new utter yett in comelie

work', <33> at the eastern approach - an area which had been devastated by the siege of 1573, when forces of the brave but unlucky Kirkcaldy of Grange, who held the castle on behalf of Queen Mary, were overwhelmed. The Regent Morton gateway of 1577 was part of the castle's subsequent necessary reconstruction as a military fortification, when the Half-Moon Battery was also built. <34> This second gateway, directed to be built in 1624, related perhaps to consolidation of the security aspects, but might equally have had a primarily ceremonial purpose, as a triumphal arch. <35> But it was to be a visually important work too, as we learn from a record by Sir Daniel Wilson,

Immediately within the drawbridge there formerly stood an ancient and highly ornamented gateway, near the barrier guard-room. It was adorned with pilasters, and very rich mouldings carried over the arch, and surmounted by an arch with a curious piece of sculpture, in basso relief, set in an oblong panel, containing a representation of...Mons Meg, with groups of other ancient artillery and military weapons. This fine old port was only demolished in the beginning of the present [ie 19th] century, owing to its being found too narrow to give admission to modern carriages and waggons, when the present inelegant gateway was erected on its site. <36>

Grant also makes reference to this gate, as follows;

...once stood...a grand old entrance gate, having many rich sculptures, an entablature, and a pediment rising from pilasters. <37>

The "curious" pieces of sculpture are evidently those set in the present pend, which was built in 1888 to the design of Hippolyte Blanc. <38> On the basis of inspection of the artillery portrayed, and that of the clothing of the

gunner also portrayed, they have been tentatively ascribed an early 17th century date,<39> which fits with the architectural evidence considered here, for we have noted that it was not until the period of Edinburgh Palace's reconstruction that high quality sculptural work was seen in Scotland, after the decline of the art in the latter part of the 16th century. Also, the gateway from which these panels were salvaged were evidently of a different style - and, it would follow, generation - of the Morton gateway, which is unlikely to have been described in terms such as those used by Wilson: eg "adorned with pilasters" - suggesting pilasters of what to a 19th century eye would be regarded as "correct" type, and therefore likely to date from Murray's period. It appears therefore that these sculptured panels formed part of Murray's gateway of circa 1624.

Linlithgow

Murray's other royal palace block, the north quarter of Linlithgow, was begun in 1618 on the direction of James. Work continued until about 1622. Through lack of maintenance, and despite warnings given, the James IV-period North quarter had collapsed in 1607.<40> The advice of a previous Master of the King's Works, Sir Robert Drummond of Carnock, might have been applied;

ane hunder pundis vill do mair presently to the said
work nor ane thowsand pundis will do quhen it is fallin

downe...<41>

The decision to rebuild was no doubt made ostensibly because James was unhappy about the ruinous condition of that quarter when he visited Linlithgow in 1617.<42> But the message evident in a continued neglect of the palace - viz. that Scots palaces were already pieces of history, and the question of there being an intention to have any future royal presence in the country ended - must have brought some political pressure upon James, much more meaningful in that immediate post-1603 period than in the 18th century when its burning could be disregarded by royalty.<43>

James IV was (it appears) responsible for Linlithgow Palace becoming a closed courtyard plan block, prefiguring such as Francis I's Ancy-le-Franc.<44> By 1618, the palace comprised essentially the following: James I's great hall and processional entrance on the east, which work continued in an L-plan along the south quarter; another L-plan range, built for James III, completed the south quarter, continuing towards the north at the west end, ie as the west quarter. An L-plan range built for James IV closed the NW angle and made the north quarter, ie the range rebuilt by Murray. The architectural development is of course much more complex than this outline tells: for instance, James IV was perhaps also responsible for the remarkable Outer bulwark and (probably) rendering near-symmetrical the east front, while James V's masons/master of works (probably Sir James Hamilton of Finnart) was or

were responsible for making the south front symmetrical; but these facts are sufficient for the present purpose.<45>

The rebuilt north quarter followed the external walls of the James IV work, making use on the courtyard front of the NW and NE stair towers (the four stair towers date from James IV's time), while on the outer wall, the old masonry was kept up to 1st floor level, an inset visible on the interior face showing the break between old work and the new. On the courtyard front, the walling was new-build from the ground up, although the eastmost bay of the new work also incorporated James IV-period masonry, with a vertical joint evident at ground floor level.<46> But notwithstanding the thinner walling of the work by Murray, the depth of this range was (indeed, from the outset) considerable, for Murray's double-pile plan fitted into this same depth of building.[Plate XX]

So what functions were to be assigned the new north quarter? The precise purpose of the rooms which were lost by the collapse is not known; the great hall, chapel royal and king's and queen's apartments - ie the "essentials" for an early renaissance royal palace - occupied the three surviving quarters, so the missing rooms must have been "extras", such as accommodation for courtiers, and possibly a gallery. Murray's block contained windowed rooms at all levels; at ground level, a cross-ways corridor running from the centre stair turret to a window

slapped in the old masonry, doorways leading into the four rooms flanking. The idea of a corridor "feeding" rooms which lead off is one seldom seen in this period, except at ground level at eg Newark and Kirkwall, but, possibly significantly, at bedroom floor level at Kilbaberton and Winton. Linlithgow differs from these in that the corridors are not longitudinal, but instead cut through the depth of the building. Beyond these rooms, a single room to the east is retained from the old work, lit by a tiny slit window on the north wall alone - suggesting a use such as some sort of storage, but with a sizeable fireplace and wall presses, suggesting domestic use - though evidently for the servant class alone. In the corresponding place at the west, there are two rooms, accessed only from the west. The three front (ie fronting the court) rooms each have a single fireplace and a window placed directly opposite, facing into the court. The front rooms were therefore fairly pleasant, and as they had a view of the courtyard, they were most likely intended for either the highest domestic servants, or people of higher social rank.<47> But facing north, windows were tiny (three in total slapped out, the centre one lighting the corridor), and there were no fireplaces; yet the rooms were of identical proportions to those at the front - ie the plan was symmetrical on its spinal axis: an early Scottish example of symmetry of lay-out plan, ie an idea likely to be an import, possibly from England and Inigo Jones, more probably from Europe, perhaps a legacy of the above-noted 'Italianising phase, and certainly known from

publications such as Serlio.<48> This interest in symmetry of planning is also seen on the upper floors of this quarter.

At first floor level, the principal room is the long gallery or dining room, discussed below. It extends within the confines of the plan as far as possible, and has a pair of fireplaces, these placed central on the walls either side of a central intercommunication with the southern "pile". A bolection-moulded fireplace close to a doorway at the extreme west end of this room is evidently an insertion of the late 17th/early 18th century.<49> There must also have been a corridor like that on the floor beneath on this level linking the stair turret to the above-mentioned intercommunication. Three fireplaces in this "pile" point to a lay-out similar to that on the floor below; and presumably more bed chambers, this time unquestionably for courtiers, as opposed to menial staff. At second floor level, more bedchambers, front and back.

This reconstruction exercise also placed strong emphasis on symmetry of elevation, particularly on the courtyard front. On that front, with rebuilding begun anew from ground level, strict symmetry was possible as rebuilding was unconstrained by existing walling, enabling freedom of design. Like the Edinburgh block, a spine-walled or double-pile plan was adopted and also like Edinburgh (and, indeed, Culross), the elevational treatment is markedly restrained. Facing the court, string courses of standard

profile, all single windows, margined (where at Edinburgh they were unmargined), and again, Culross-type pediments over the openings, a good deal more variety in the range of the tympanum sculpture than at Edinburgh, and the rather more tentative use of mannerist strapwork than in buildings of the later 1620s. End staircase towers were of course pre-existing, but the centre stair tower is part of the 17th century work. Like the Edinburgh stair, it half projects a semi-engaged octagon, 3-sided on plan, plus the beginnings only of the parallel faces of the other 2 sides. The doorway moulding, as noted, like those at Edinburgh, strings on the stair turret not carried through from the main wall, but set between the floors (as are the stair windows), in the same way as was later done at the Argyll Lodging. The stair tower reaches above the parapet level, so as to lead directly onto the leads of the main roof, from where the view could be enjoyed, and no doubt originally the tower would have had a domed roof, leaded and finialed.<50>

Small windows, also pedimented, flank the stair at each level, with small slit openings (mural presses and privys are within - as seen at Winton and Argyll Lodging) placed a little beyond; triangular pediments throughout except at the top floor where they are segmental, pushed hard against the corbel course of the parapet. The idea of articulating the facade with smaller openings on either side of the centre turret was reproduced also, at Heriot's, on the west flank. The raggle of the original

roof profile is seen either end, and the rank of stacks reaching above the spine wall is a distinctive feature, paralleled most closely at Culross and Pinkie. Here, the arrangement is more sophisticated than appears at a glance, for the stacks are grouped in two sets of five, each group with the centre stack slightly narrower (one cut down stack now flings the rhythm out), whilst at the new (ie 17th c) stacks which had to be built cross-ways over the eastern junction with pre-existing work, the arrangement is reversed: three stacks, the inner one this time the wider. Such articulation recalls the front parapet treatment at Edinburgh (supra).<51>

The outer wall, facing north, has mostly big and almost identical windows, stone mullions and transomes, each window 3 lights in length, 2 in depth. Beneath all this, as noted, three lights slapped at ground level, but at first floor level (ie at the gallery), the largest windows, checked all the way round sides and lintels for leaded glazing, stopped above the sills for substantial pieces of timber. Externally, then, the gallery was expressed, and emphasised by different fenestration; a fact no longer obvious in the building's current state. The roof parapet is a simplified version of that facing the court, though still with lion-mask spouts. This elevation too is symmetrically-composed, though not in fact symmetrical. Thus, in the area occupied by the new build, there are 5 bays, symmetrical either side of narrow centre windows. The small ground floor windows also

conform to this symmetry, a pre-existing 3-sided bay occupying the space where a fourth slit window would have otherwise been. An additional bay to the left (ie east), (separated by the early cross-wall, hence the gap) is identically-detailed (cf 'blind' bays at Winton, Biel), but puts the symmetry out, though not to the extent that it is displeasing to the eye. The method of how best to reconstruct this north range posed a real problem to a mind concerned with symmetry, and was dealt with in a manner more complex than is immediately apparent.

Inside, the ground floor - like Culross - is unvaulted, but as at Edinburgh (and as will be seen, at Kilbaberton) there were differing floor levels. At the piano nobile, the principal rooms/gallery were evidently those which faced north overlooking the loch and a greater ceiling height in those rooms meant that north-facing windows were taller than those on the upper floors, and steps were required at the intercommunication above, in the spine wall.

There too are the above-noted, much-defaced chimney pieces, an identical pair, sufficient detail surviving between them to just about reconstruct their original form. The quality of stone carving is, characteristically, very high. The mantel shelf of each had moulded ends, with an egg-&-dart detail, paired garlands in the frieze. The uprights/jambs are particularly noteworthy, for they are almost identical to those on one chimney piece at the

Argyll Lodging, town house of the Earl of Stirling, and another building of this court style (of which more, later). Each upright/jamb is, basically, a griffin-like creature; two-legged, the body of each is overlaid by a single acanthus leaf, a head above, and in profile, the flanks are scrolled at the shoulder, like Ionic volutes.

Several chimney pieces set in the common wall of the North tower to the east, built to serve the rooms in that tower also appear to date from 1618-21, to judge by their treatment, ie with the distinctive beading defining the "frieze".

The interest in symmetry of planning was noted above in the ground floor lay-out, and the use of a cross-ways corridor. On the floors above, the arrangement was similar, but here, the doorway exiting from the centre stair turret is to the left of its centre, thus placing the corridor of necessity where it intersected dead centre with the gallery wall - actually, an ingenuous and under-rated piece of design, preserving symmetry of courtyard elevation and symmetry of lay-out plan in a site which, on account of location of end gables in relation to end staircase towers, was always asymmetrical.<52>

Also on the floors above, the arrangement of placing a single smaller window placed directly opposite the doorway, the clear inference being that a cross-ways corridor existed at each of the upper floors, centrally

placed on plan in relation to the pre-existing walls to east and west that defined the extent of the new work. But the rooms - or more accurately, suites - were fractionally off being in an entirely symmetrical disposition (though privys etc., and windows were all in identical locations), to judge by the disposition of fireplaces (excluding those dating from the late 17th/early 18th century), nor do they form a pattern that alternated from floor to floor. The only significant departure from the basic lay-out was in the top floor, west end of the northern 'pile', where there are no fireplaces in the spine wall, these being placed (for a reason not clear to me) on the north wall instead, squat square stacks skilfully made barely noticable from the ground. Chimney pieces in the east face along both the NE tower wall and the cross-wall to its west also belong evidently to Murray's time, pointing to an upgrading of these rooms at or about the same time.

The one other significant piece of work evidently of this period is on the north quarter, a single great window set in to the courtyard front of the "King's Hall", which has a flat-ended pediment. The window above, in the Queen's apartment, is also evidently of this period, though it has no external "architecture", only raised flat margins.

Work in 1628-9 included "laying over with oyle cullour and for gilting with gold the haill foir face of the new wark with the timber windowis and window brodis staine windowis and crownellis with ane brod for the kingis armes and

houssing gilt and set of and lykewyse to thame for gylting
and laying over with oyle cullour the four orderis abone
the utter yet and furnisching all sortis of gold
oyle...".<53>

The emphasis upon features being "set of[f]" points to an interest in contrasting colours in painted ornament: perhaps McKean's - daring, in the 1993 context - thesis that renaissance-period buildings were coloured goes nowhere near far enough.<54> Evidently too, the entire facade of the Linlithgow north quarter was painted to the court: which must have given the building a very European character, more evident than now. There must have been other examples of this having been done, the evidence for which may emerge if we look.

Holyrood

Of the great volume of literature on Holyrood most studies have concentrated either on the abbey as a medieval building or else on the palace, whether in or before the 16th century or as reconstructed by Sir William Bruce and Robert Mylne for Charles II: that is, as now existing. The exception is in the introduction to the published accounts for the period, where the building works which were carried out by Murray are briefly discussed in the context of that evidence, combined with other source material.<55> Documentation gives an indication of some of the work done

in Murray's period, and I will investigate what can be made of that. The questions of particular relevance to this study are "what was Murray's contribution to Holyrood", and "is anything of his work yet surviving, or otherwise known from visual records?"

Holyrood is first on record as a medieval abbey church built at the direction of David I; a royal palace was built or rebuilt by James IV, to which James V added the existing NW tower, the latter incorporated and duplicated in the 1671-79 rebuilding by Sir William Bruce and Robert Mylne.<56> What exists to-day is a symmetrical quadrangular palace block, incorporating the James V tower at the north end of the west front, and with the ruined abbey kirk, relict of the medieval abbey, at the north east angle.

A result of the near-total rebuilding of the palace by Bruce and Mylne and the ruined condition of the abbey, means that little now survives of the work done by Murray, who had done a great deal of reconstruction both at the palace and the abbey kirk in a series of building campaigns prior to Charles I's coronation in 1633.

But some work of Murray's period can still be identified at the abbey, and some questions arise - remaining, for the present, sometimes unanswered - regarding the extent of the work done by him to the palace; what of that work might survive within the 1670s reconstruction,

unrecognised?

What did Holyroodhouse look like prior to Murray's period? or what form had the building which was altered by Murray? For this, we can refer to the study by John Dunbar, which due to the nature of the evidence is of necessity no more than an outline - though with areas of specific detail, eg in construction of the tower.<57> The palace had a complex series of buildings, basically 3/4 adjoining courtyard blocks. A group of mid 17th century plans, and particularly one drawn by John Mylne in 1663, informs us of the palace prior to the Bruce period. These drawings include a complete plan of the first (ie principal) floor, but it is unclear to what extent it is a record of what existed then, and how much it is of proposed alterations, for it appears to be both of those things.<58>

Of the palace to-day, the spine wall in the north quarter, at least, is likely to have been part (the original outside north wall) of the old building retained, and could be part of the James IV palace, but possibly several elements usually ascribed to Bruce & Mylne may stand reconsideration. While the documentation suggests that one bay of the arcade was built at the north west corner as an exemplar,<59> the arcades of the courtyard are nonetheless remarkably like those of Heriot's and of Glasgow College. Do some of the arches or arch components survive from prior to Bruce's time, sufficient to influence the Bruce/Mylne design? The triglyph ornament is not fluted,

but raised, that very individual detail first noted above on the palace block at Edinburgh, and repeated on the Heriot's refectory door and the Pinkie well-head; its use at Holyrood in the Restoration period implies one of two things. It could be a desire to harmonise with work of the previous generation which was to be retained, for the detail appears to have been used nowhere else in the Restoration period. The other - and more likely - interpretation would be that this was simply Mylne producing work of a character he (and, doubtless, Bruce) associated with "court" architecture, operating in the tradition in which his uncle (i.e. John Mylne) had learned his trade, and in which he too had been trained, for the continued use in the Restoration period of details introduced during Murray's period - such as the continued use of the 1633 Holyrood Abbey cupola - is noted elsewhere in this work.

In pursuit of what Murray period work may survive, we must first compare the John Mylne plan with that of the Bruce/Mylne building as built, and as recorded by William Adam.<60> What can be seen is that the main courtyard of the existing palace shares some of the same essentials of general outline (except the east front). A semi-polygonal staircase tower set in the north west internal angle of the Mylne plan is worth noting (staircases of different character are set in the other angles), for the earliest use of polygonal staircase towers in Scotland, as noted, are at Culross and Dalgety, while the pattern thereafter

came to be popular. Of course, innovation could be expected in royal works – which could set the date of this stair back to perhaps William Schaw's time (if it was part of the James V work, one would expect to have seen it imitated a lot earlier), but the question arises of whether or not this stair was built in Murray's period, as seems, on the face of it, possible. But Gordon of Rothiemay's convincing-looking 1647 view appears not to show any stair tower there, which is difficult to explain – ie was this stair simply a proposal made by Mylne which may or may not have happened?<61>

Another puzzle which can now be resolved is the doubling of the north quarter to a double-pile; when was that done? Shown on Mylne's plan, it was in fact built not by Murray, but by William MacDowall in 1577.<62> This 'double-pile' is of course the treatment given by Murray to the reconstruction both of the Linlithgow and Edinburgh palaces. The placing on the Mylne plan of the scale-and-platt stair in that range, situated where it abuts the James V tower, is as shown on William Adam's plan in Vitruvius Scoticus of the recently reconstructed palace, suggesting that it was by Bruce's time pre-existing, and retained – which is to say that it was created by someone in a previous generation, and thus legitimises the search for pre-Bruce elements having been retained in the palace's reconstruction. Indeed, it could be said that re-use of pre-existing masonry characterised much of the architecture of 17th–18th century Scotland, as seen at

countless buildings from Drumlanrig in the south to Fyvie in the north. It was simply wasteful to demolish re-usable masonry, and generations of Scottish architects were to experience the challenge of seeking to produce a modern building whilst simultaneously retain pre-existing work.

The window mouldings on that (ie north) front - alternate convex/ concave in combination - could be interpreted as being archaic for the Restoration period, and Bruce, as they are similar to some used at Heriot's, eg on the west doorway. Given (a) that this is a moulding type used in the 16th century, eg at Mid Calder kirk (building in 1542),^{<63>} and given too (b) that the Murray-period triglyph detail is also used here, the continuity factor of the national tradition can be seen here.

The treatment of the eaves - corbelled, instead of a classical cornice - is quite inconsistent with what else we believe to have been Bruce's work, though it is fair to say that Bruce was at this stage only setting out on his architectural career. But (as shown) the doubling in depth of this northern quarter pre-dated Bruce, so the external detailing may or may not belong to his period. Whether the surface skin of masonry is of the time of Bruce, MacDowall, or (if a part of the preparations of 1633) Murray, the feeling evidently was that between the ancient abbey and tower a "modern" cornice would be inappropriate. In any event, this is an intentional archaism - a feature noted elsewhere in Murray's period.

Murray may have done some work at the James IV gatehouse. Only the lower parts of the south flank wall survives of this structure, but something of its original appearance is known from a view published in Hugo Arnot's History.<64> This view is from the palace forecourt, and shows the gatehouse having a stair turret on the left hand side, a corbelled bartizan opposite, each with a distinctive parapet with a raised semi-circle over the crenellations as seen at the Linlithgow north range - ie on work associated with Murray. Maybe, then, Murray reconstructed these parapets to a modern design, for this work compares with Linlithgow, and differs from the parapet treatment over the body of the Holyrood gatehouse, which is plain-stepped and therefore looks original. But, the continuity element of the national mainstream means that any such proposition, made on the basis of visual examination alone, remains inconclusive.

So much then for the suggestions made on the basis of visual/non-documentary postulation. What do we know from documentation to have been done at Holyrood by Murray? The accounts are far from complete, and are therefore of limited value, but they record at least 3 major building operations taking place - between the years 1616-17 for James VI's "hamecoming" (for the preparations of which detailed Masters of Works Accounts have not survived,<65> and - the best recorded and the latest - in 1633 (the year prior to Murray's death), for Charles I's coronation, when upwards of £17,000 was spent on building; the last

probably spent mostly on the abbey kirk, rather than on the palace.

New work and repairs to Holyrood costing upwards of £40,000 was undertaken in 1616-17, for King James' visit.<66> Comparison with work at Linlithgow, where the whole north range was reconstructed for an estimated final cost of £40,000, indicates the substantial scale of works undertaken at Holyrood at that time,<67>, though how much of this was taken up on the chapel royal is difficult to say. Not all the elements of the palace mentioned below can now be identified, the outline of what work was intended was set out on 22nd May 1616 by the Privy Council in the following terms;

Forsamekle as, the Kingis Majestie haveing resolvit to honour this his ancient kingdome with his royall presence, God willing, in the beginning of the next spring of 1617, it is verie necessar and expedient for his Majesties contented receptioun that his Majesties paliceis of Halirudhous and Falkland and the Castell of Strivling be repairit and all defectis thairin mendit, - thairfore the Lordis of Secret Counsall gevis commissioun and warrand be thir presentis to James Murray, Maister of his Majesties Workis, to tak down the haill rooffe and thake of the ludgeing abone the utter yett callit the Chancellaries Ludging [this was the courtyard at the SE corner of the complex], with sa meikle of the stane worke as is requisite, and to caus the same to be buildit up and perfyte of new; and to tak down to the ground the chalmer within the Pallace of Halirudehous callit the Maister Stewartis chalmer, and on nawayes to build up the same agane, inrespect of the deformitie and disproportion that it hes with the rest of the building thair; and to tak down the chalmer and garlie in Halirudhouse callit Sir Roger Ashtonis chalmer [unidentified], and to build up the same of new in a convenient forme; and to tak down the kitcheing in Halirudhouse, callit Chancellair Maitlandis kitcheing, in the end of the transe callit the Dukis transe, bothe in the rooffe, jeistis, and walles, so far as is necessar, and to builde up the same of new; and to tak down the toofalles in the

baikheous yairde of Halyrudhouse, and the haill dykis of the bakehous yairde, and not to big up the same agane, sua that of the yairde ane perfyte cloise maybe made.<68>

The "perfyte cloise" was doubtless to be regular and symmetrical, and the building "of new" was evidently a significant piece of work.

On 18th July, 1616, the treasurer was directed by the Privy Council to forward 20,000 merks for works at Stirling, Edinburgh Castle and Holyrood, in anticipation of James' visit,<69> and on the 4th February following, a number of named "craftismen frome all the pairtis of the cuntrey" (actually, from east-central Scotland) were ordered to join in the royal works at Holyroodhouse, which had suddenly become "so vrgent".<70> Further orders of similar type were sent to Glasgow and Linlithgow, though only (it appears) for masons. Other edicts followed, directed at people in Culross and (once again) the Edinburgh area.<71> Spottiswoode informs us that

Among other directions sent from the king, one was for repairing of the chapel, and some English carpenters were employed, who brought with them the portraits of the apostles to be set in pews or stalls...<72>

The Chapel Royal was established in Stirling at an early date. It was invested in substantially by James IV, who re-created it anew. Throughout much of the 16th century, significant investment appears to have been made in the provision and maintenance of musicians and choristers, with an emphasis on excellence.<73> But after 1603, and now useless to James, resident elsewhere, he decided first

to abolish it, but later, he issued instructions (on 20th September 1612) that it should instead be based at Holyroodhouse.<74> The chapel in Holyrood (as distinct from the Chapel Royal, the organisation) was initially in the north quarter, but was moved to the south quarter in the early-mid 1530s;<75> so by the time of James VI and of Charles I it was already long established there.

Returning to the preparations for the 'hamecoming': first had come "organs"; then images, and it was rumoured that next would be the popish mass - a matter of grave concern to the Scots, and James angrily made a slight concession on the matter of the images, though it was not to be long before he forced his ecclesiastical innovations upon Scotland.<76>

James had already made his thinking clear regarding form of worship, and for his visit in 1617 he had determined to pave the way for the religious innovations which were to follow - thus the last General Assembly of James' reign was in 1618, when his "Five Articles" were pushed through the Perth Assembly, thereby pressing ecclesiastical innovations upon an unwilling kirk. By way of introducing the idea to the country, the chapel royal was set up for episcopal worship - and there was at the outset no intention to make the slightest concession towards presbyterianism, with even the pre-existing chapel furniture taken away. The day following James' arrival in Edinburgh, he attended service in the Chapel Royal, which

was heard according to the English form. For preparation of the chapel English workmen were brought to Scotland, most significantly Nicholas Stone and Matthew Goodrich: as "this work could not be gottin so perfytlie...within this cuntrey as is requisite".<77> We should not necessarily interpret their involvement at the Chapel Royal as evidence that Scots craftsmen could not provide work of high quality, but rather that they were unused to providing furnishings and detailing for episcopal requirements, and royalty demands, of course, the best. Besides, setting a squad of Scots craftsmen to making images that would be deemed "papist" would have trodden on sensibilities even more, and might have led unnecessarily and unhelpfully (from James' point of view) to trouble in Edinburgh. Nicholas Stone had in 1616 worked in London on carved woodwork for the chapel royal under the supervision of Inigo Jones, showing that the English court craftsmen were also sometimes involved in Murray's works.<78> Then, in March 1617, the Treasurer's Accounts note payment

to Nicolas Stone, carver, citiner of Londoun, for making of Stall seattis wrocht and enriched in all soirtis with bases, fries, cornes, armes, figuris, with fair daskis, befoirthe saidis stallis and seattis within his hienes Chapell Royall of the palace of Halyrudehous...<79>

Goodrich was paid for "painting and guilting" the chapel royal, and the English craftsmen had with them "thair [men]", doubtless also brought with them to Scotland.<80> Perhaps Murray and Alexander would have used these craftsmen on non-royal works too, as Bruce later in the

century employed the plasterers Hulbert and Dunsterfield at Balcaskie and Thirlstane while they were in Scotland anyway, working under his supervision at Holyrood.

Nicholas Stone's chapel interior was stripped in 1642 by the master wright John Scott in the same way as the interior of Dairsie kirk was stripped of its episcopalean ornament at about the same time.<81> It is known that Stone's work at Holyrood included carved stalls, a "great fair buskyne of weill wrought carved warke" about the organ, with a richly-decorated screen at the chapel west end, with an entrance door (the plan of Dairsie, discussed below, compares), and above, a private royal gallery with "twa bay wondokes for the King and Quenes clossit with faire oppening wondokes for ther Majesteis to louke downe to the Chapell".<82> The latter detail is represented on the 1663 Holyrood plan.<83>

Two contemporary illustrations, both by Gordon of Rothiemay, supplement our information on the palace in this period; the first is in his birds'-eye view map of the city, the second his engraving of the west front, c.1649. Although that elevation was basically 16th century, the work of James V and of James IV, some features can with a fair degree of confidence be ascribed to Murray. For example, above James V tower - which, as first built was platform-roofed (like Cardinal Beaton's Tower of 1578, representative of the then court style) - is shown a bell-cast attic gable which would be compatible

with a date in Murray's period, as the basic form is paralleled in the roof dome profiles at Heriots and elsewhere, as well as the wall-head gable on the south front of Pitreavie.<84> The Holyrood attic gable has also a two-light window with an ornament above. That ornament can be interpreted on different views as either a strap-worked dormer head or as a relieving arch; if the former, then that detail would be absolutely standard for a Murray-period date, particularly since a relieving arch at attic level is unlikely to have been structurally necessary. The accounts show that several stone "crounells" (= pediments) were quarried for Holyrood in 1633, whose original locations on the building we have yet to identify - so perhaps this was one of them. Perhaps the remarkable series of enormous roof finials (possibly exaggerated by the engraver) also dates from then, as the accounts include several references to weathercocks and finials, though they might also have been a feature of 16th century work, as at Stirling palace block. More probably, these were built anew as part of the 1624 works described here. The spirelet shown by Rothiemay over the turret on the right hand side of the Holyrood west front, set on a stepped/tiered base, recalls those which formerly existed at Aberdeen's King's College, which appear to be dateable to about the mid 17th century, possibly 1633/4 when the crown spire was rebuilt.

It is known that when first built the two west 'rounds' were given finials in the form of Lions and miniature

turrets,<85> which by the time of Rothiemay's drawing had been replaced by very large crowns. Might the latter features also date from 1624?

On the 'bird's eye' view, the courtyard front of the north quarter is shown, having small openings and a near-centre entrance door at ground level, large windows at 1st floor (as would be expected) above a string or cill course, and a rank of gabled dormers set above the eaves, ie not cutting through them as was commonly done, at eg Kilbaberton and the Argyll Lodging.

In fact, the greater part of Murray's contribution to the palace, as opposed to the abbey, appears to have been prior to the 1632-3 operations. Over and above the 1616 "commission and warrant" to carry out various works of demolition, repair and improvement for James' intended visit,<86> more work was authorised in 1624 in the second major scheme of repairs to royal buildings about which we have details. In the latter year the Lords of Secret Council

ordanis and commandis James Murray, Maister of his Majesteis Workis, to tak down the rooffis of the twa easter roundis [=turrets] of the tour in Haliruidhous callit the Quenis tour, and to mak new rooffis to the same yf neid beis, and to sark, theake and sclaitt the same sufficientlie, and to raise up the chimna heade of the north east round with a stair worke, and to caus beitt, mend, and repair the wholl defectis in the bartisine [=parapet] of the said toure sufficientlie as accordis, and to caus tir the twa pairt of the gallerie callit the Kingis gallerie [evidently the northern pile of the north range] whilk is failled and to mend the rooffe thair of, and to theak the same new with sclaitt and to tak down the grit decayit rin rooffe that is

betuix the north end of the quarter quhair the Lord
Chancellour ludgeis [?the east range] and the kirk, and
to mak an new sufficient rooffe thairunto, and to theak
and perfyte the same...<87>

The "Quenis tour" was probably James V's tower, ie that
which survives as the left hand end of the present
Holyrood facade, and still celebrated in association with
Queen Mary. This was not necessarily the only tower in the
palace, as James IV's 'tour', <88> yet to be identified,
may have comprised a part of the courtyard blocks. The
abbey south west steeple, by then incorporated within the
palace, might in modern terms be described as a 'tower',
but steeples were evidently a distinct feature in the 17th
century, as were towers; and besides, it was in 1633
designated a "steeple".<89> The James V tower seems
therefore the most likely structure to have been referred
to; which would mean that Murray was involved in work on
the tower upper works, but there is no mention in the
documentation of adding a gable (supra).

A hand-written inscription on John Mylne's 1663 plan of
Holyrood tells us that James V had intended to duplicate
the James V tower in the way that was eventually done for
Charles II. Mylne tells us too that a duplicate tower was
"his majsties blised fatheris intentione in anno 1633" -
and here, at least, he was well placed to know the facts.
Perhaps that latter statement of Mylne's is to be taken at
face value. But no less likely, it was an idea put by the
Masters of Works to Charles, which he approved of, but
which evidently came to nothing, either because time did

not permit its construction prior to Charles' arrival in 1633 or more probably because funding was simply not made available.

Significantly, the above reference is to the two "easter roundis" of James V's tower, the southern of which is now long gone, its disappearance unrecorded, for Rothiemay's view (1647) appears to show that "round" already gone, and John Mylne's plan (1667) shows a tiny square turnpike stair occupying its site. As it has been suggested above that Murray did work on the attic gable it may be that removal of that SE "round" was done by him too, either instead of the repair ordained to be done to it in 1624 or else when the pitch roof was added, which might have been during the programme of works carried out for Charles' coronation.

Accounts for the last phase show a colossal amount of timber being bought for Holyrood in 1632-3, and no doubt much of it was installed in the palace as well as in the abbey. It has already been seen that Ralff Raleine (Rawlinson), the English carver, was brought south from the Chanonry, where he had been working for the Earl of Huntly. It can be recalled that Rawlinson had been engaged previously on the royal works, in 1617, when he had made the "dragon and St George" and moulds for the plasterers.<90>

* * *

Turning now to the abbey kirk, we have again but few useful references. In 1629 a report was commissioned by and duly submitted to the Privy Council suggesting various improvements required, and for better lighting the church. Some points, regarding the seating, were picked up for action, others held off for consideration "to a more fitt tyme and occasioun",^{<91>} and in 1630 the question was being considered (by a group which included the 'Maister of the Ceremoneis, the Lyoun Herauld, and the Maister of Worke') whether St Giles' or Holyrood was now the more appropriate setting for Charles' forthcoming coronation, the former location being then decided upon as time did not permit for the latter to be got ready in time.^{<92>} But in the event, another three-year delay on Charles' part enabled Holyrood to be got ready in time. The possibility of St Giles' being used had been investigated previously, for on 22nd July 1628, the Privy Council was informed that taking down the partition wall between the east and west kirks (St Giles' by then had been divided, for different congregations) was "impossible to be perfyted" in time for parliament. Then,

The lords ordanis the Maister of Warke to sight the kirk of Edinburgh callit Sanct Giles Kirk the morne and to considder if there be a necessitie for the greater solempnitie of his Majesteis coronation to take down the partitioun wall betuix the old and new kirks...^{<93>}

Prior to this, in 1626, another programme of repairs, estimated to cost £4000 "or theirby", may or may not have been carried out, despite the urgent tone in the statement of what was required. The minister and kirk session had

submitted a petition "by the whiche they haviely regraittit the ruinous estate of the said kirk..." and in which they conveyed the report by Murray of what urgent works were required. The point was made to King Charles that here was where the monarchs of Scotland "ordinarlie ressaved the crowne.." and that "a pairt of your Majesteis pallace is contenit within the fabricque of the said kirk, the southe pairt whairof serves for accomodating of your Majesteis Counsell and thair families resident within the said pallace for hearing of the Word.... when thair is no preaching in the Chapell." The Privy Council had been "earnestlie besought...[to]...acquaint your Majestie with the true estate of the said kirk, and sollicite the speedie help and reparatioun of the same." The 'Maister of your Majesteis Workis' had been "directit" to visit and report "the true estate of the same" together with an estimated repair cost. Having 'considerit the whole defectis of the said kirk, he gaif in a note in write under his hand". The building was "verie ruinous, speciallie in the butteries [= buttresses], pend [= vault] and rouffe, and that the west gavell and southe turnepick therof wes altogither severed and disjoynd from the rouffe, which hes alreddie occasioned the fall of the west end of the pend, and will not faill to indanger the gallerie of your Majesteis pallace if the same be not speedilie tane downe and substantiously buildit...". The significance of the building as a historical artefact was also appreciated. Thus, "whairas it concernis the honnour of this kingdome that suche a goodelie structure and

religious hous, whairin not onlie your Majesteis royall
ancestouris lyis intombed, bot whiche hes bene the usuall
place for the solempnitie of thair coronatioun, and whair
your Majestie likeways is (by the custome heirtofore
observit) to ressave the imperiall crowne of this
kingdome..."<94>

But the only evidence we have of major repairs carried out
to the abbey about then was not till 1633:

Forsameekle as the King's Majestie has resolved that
his coronatioun sall, God willing, be in the Abbey
Kirk of Halyrudhous, and whereas it is verie requisite
both for the credite of the countrie and for the
solempnitie of this important actioun that the said
kirk be repaired and ordered in suche a decent and
comelie maner as is most fitting for suche ane great
and honnourable actioun, thairfoir the Lords of
Secreit Counsell ordains and commands James Murray and
Antony Alexander, Maisters of his Majesteis Workes, to
enter with all possible diligence to the repairing and
ordering of the said kirk in the particulars
following, viz. - to take down the east gavell within
the great arche where the old window is, and to erect
and build up ane faire new window of good stane worke,
and als ane window in the east end of the north yle;
and forder to build up the north-west steeple with
stone, timber and leade, and to make it fitt to
receave a pale of bells; as alsua to helpe and
repaire the south-west steeple so farre of it as must
be in sight, and to repaire and make new the great
west doore with stone and timber; and alsua to
repaire the haill west gavell with some lights to be
struckin out therein with the twa turnepykes to be
partlie takin down and weill repaired and thacked in
good order; as alsua to remove the haill lofts and
deskes, and to repaire the haill breaches and defects
of all the pillers, and to helpe the plaistering of
the north yle and to swettin and sett it aff in good
sort conforme to the south yle; as alsua to prepare
and have in readines als manie daillis, trees,
sparres, and naillis as sall be thought necessar for
erecting of the King's Majesteis throne and others
degrees of honnour with suche barricats and lofts as
sall be necessar; and ordains the saids maisters of
warkes to begin to the saids warkes with all possible
diligence and to provide warkmen and all materialls
necessar where ever they can be best and soonest

had...<95>

This statement of the programme of works was evidently founded upon a series of proposals submitted and discussed, as it is far too specific to have simply emerged from a committee of primarily 'lay' people such as those who sat on the Privy Council. They are in fact a version of the proposals submitted by James Murray and others in 1629, evidently not acted upon at that time.<96> The fact that direct instructions regarding the carrying out of this work are targeted at the Masters of Works, reinforces the above-made arguments about Murray's role. Perhaps drawings to illustrate what it was the Council was voting for were produced, though - besides the Mylne plan - no 17th century architectural drawings of the Abbey Kirk exist, and the best visual record of the post-1633 west front of the abbey is that in William Adam's Vitruvius Scoticus, not a sketch, but a measured architectural elevation.<97>

As the palace north quarter had in the 16th century been made double-pile beneath a new roof, the SW steeple of the abbey kirk was no longer visible for most of its height (it is shown on Rothiemay's bird's eye view, 1647, rising above the palace roofs which abutted it on all 4 sides), and the statement above regarding that steeple, "so farre of it as must be in sight" means not only was it by 1632 enclosed by the doubling of the north quarter, but that it was on the outside visible rising above the main roofs. Payment was made in 1575 for "dountaking of the stepill of

Halyrudhous kirk", but elements of it were evidently left.<98> But the NW steeple is clearly shown by Rothiemay. It had been given a distinctive belfry of a new type. The NW steeple had been reduced in height to its second stage, and rebuilding inset above on a moulded base course of Classical type; the lower part of the belfry was a square stage and, above it, an upswept dome with bell-cast top (all, probably, leaded) and a tall finial. Maybe the belfry design derived from North European prototypes such as Notre Dame de la Chapelle in Brussels which has a single giant spire, very similar except that it has a second square stage below the bell-cast top. No less likely, it was an independent design, possibly an effort simply to render in fashionable dress a square-section version of the circular-section turrets of the nearby James V tower (in the way that the west front of St Machar's, Aberdeen, can be interpreted as a square-section version of Holyrood/Falkland/Stirling Gatehouse turrets), but with ogee profile rather than conical/ pyramidal spires. The design of the Holyrood steeple and spire was widely copied until the early 18th century, as seen for instance at the town houses of Stirling (1703-5) and Dumfries (1705-7).<99>

Returning to the Vitruvius Scoticus drawing of Holyrood and to the 1633 work, which evidently included the complete rebuild of the upper part of the gable, the paired turnpike stairs were given their bell-cast domes. The cross-finialed belfry over the main gable-head, which

almost has a Mediterranean look about it, also dates from then and indeed bore the date 1633. But as these upper works are long gone, what now remains of the 1633 work is at lower levels, only.

The two-windows of the west gable were rebuilt as directed in 1632 (perhaps there had also been some 16th century rebuilding of windows), but within the original width; divided also in to two tiers, the lower arcades are medieval, but the upper tiers - where there would have been tracery originally - were given two vertical shafts placed above those of the lower arcades, and at the shallow-arched window heads, cusping with fleur-de-lis detailing enriched with fruit and foliage. The idea of cusping on a segmental-arched form was repeated on the decorative interior timber work of the Parliament Hall roof and its near-identical twin at the Tron Kirk (both contracted for by John Scott), and, to an extent, the vault of the Moray House domed ceiling bears comparison. But closer than these, and conceivably, for symbolic reasons, a direct source of the Holyrood window heads, are the panel heads on James V's Stirling palace block and the hood-moulding over the Linlithgow eastern entry, while comparable work was employed on the transitional courtyard fountain also at Linlithgow - but as the idea was standard in Scots 15th century work - as seen, for instance, at the monument to Bishop Dunbar (d.1532) at St Machar's - this analogy is no more than a question raised.

At any rate, it is possible to read this Holyrood west gable window-head treatment as a conscious reference to the old Scots royal palaces, made for the eagerly-anticipated coronation of the new King of Scots.

Below that great west window, and centrally-placed, is a panel with a leathery scroll-work border with a carved head like those on some contemporary monuments at Greyfriars. Now blank and flat, the panel was evidently therefore painted originally, and underneath, the timber door sub-lintel itself also dates from Murray's time, as it bears Charles I's cipher.<100>

The great east window opened up by Murray and Alexander was given a Gothic tracery: the 'neo-Gothic' style discussed elsewhere. It was rebuilt in 1817. Close inspection shows that its components are clearly of (at least) 2 different dates, ie it incorporates many of the original stones: an important fact, as this indicates that its original profile moulding, and window form, also replicates the original.

This tracery is set in below the medieval crossing tower arch ("within the great arche"), where the nave was blocked off in the 16th century to create the reformed parish church; a straightforward tracery pattern ("reticulated tracery"), it is composed of straight mullions rising to the level of the springers, a tracery above of interlocking quatrefoils, a much bigger version

of one of the courtyard windows at Heriot's chapel. The enormous fleur-de-lis apex finial above (cf. Moray House, infra) and (less probably) the clumsier obelisk finials either side and the classical moulded cornice might all date from 1633 too, though James Smith's fitting up in 1688 might have included some external repair/tidying up as well, and generations of architects have worked on the building since.<101>

Inside the abbey, work which at first sight misleadingly appears to belong to the period, is in fact almost certainly mediaeval. Thus, between the paired west gable windows is a single vertical shaft, an octagon in profile, but with its angles raised, each face, therefore, a flat-recessed strip of the type noted above as a characteristic of this court style. Like the fluting of classical columns, but the recesses flat-bottomed rather than shallow-curved in profile. Similar shafts are set in the triforium, but as the detail is seen at Lincoln, from whence derives much of the early Holyrood ornament, this is not after all likely to be a part of the Murray period work.<102>

Clearly, these operations by Murray & Alexander had the desired effect, pleasing the King, and in his letter to them of 12th December 1633 Charles was doubtless expressing the general feeling of the visiting courtiers, that of "contentment" with the upgrading conversion job done. Charles wrote;

Sieing the Abbey Church of Halyruidhius that had bene so dark befoir was by the course takin by yow becum so lightsome that it gave ws a great deall of contentment at our being ther: To the effect that it may continew so still, it is our pleasur that yow have a speciall care that no seatts nor lofts be built therein unless it be such places as may nather impair the beautie nor light of the said church ...<103>

This reconstruction for King Charles of a great medieval church as a renaissance building has an interesting and almost exactly contemporary parallel executed to the design of Inigo Jones, who was Murray & Alexander's counterpart in the southern part of Charles' united kingdom. But the contrasts are much greater than the similarities. On 16 January 1633, Charles directed that work should begin on the re-modelling of St Paul's, and work there continued till 1642.<104> A previous Jones design dates from about 1621 and work was considered several times before actually beginning. St Paul's was much bigger than Holyrood (indeed, it was one of the biggest churches in Europe), the latter reduced further for the purposes of reformed Scots worship, the English reformation not having made such "ecclesiological" demands on its places of worship. The Holyrood Abbey reconstruction was a repair job carried out in a matter of months, done with the express purpose of making a good show for the King and his visiting court. Work at St Paul's, as noted, went on for 9 years, and its richer ornament, with the largest giant portico of its time north of the Alps, shows that a lot more finance was made available for the latter building. Its reconstruction must have been viewed in court/courtier circles as being

by far the more worthwhile of the 2 projects; Charles might have expected to see Holyrood again, but certainly not often. He must on the other hand have expected to see a lot of St Paul's, to visit there frequently, so it was from his point of view evidently much more important. The same thoughts can hardly have failed to arise in the minds of the contemporary builders of both countries.

All, then that is similar between the two buildings seems to have been the challenge presented, for the ornament and architectural style chosen for the two buildings is not alike at all, although the architects were most certainly well aware of one another, and most likely knew one another too. Evidently then, Scotland, led by Murray and Alexander, was taking its cultural inspiration not from England and the English court architecture, but from a wider world which included England as well as Northern mainland Europe; and all the while, of course, drawing from its own powerful national tradition, of which these men were both receiver, or product, of and contributor to.

* * * *

At Holyrood, two other structures survive which can be related to Murray's period, namely the gateway at the west side of the forecourt and the sundial to the NW of the palace.

Gateway

This is a pedestrian-scale opening with moulded jambs and a pediment. It is now set in a 19th century wall, and it has previously been ascribed tentatively to Bruce's period.<105> Despite its being badly weathered, it can now be shown on inspection to belong almost certainly to Murray's period.

Firstly, the door standards/ingoes have the same characteristic flat-recessed ornament noted above as typical of the period. The door-lintel is round-ended. The frieze is sculptured, a central mask, paired draped swags with fruit, as on pediments of the Heriot's courtyard west wall; Winton; The Moray House gateway; as well as some of the Greyfriars monuments. The pediment is - again, typically for Murray - flat-ended, but this time broken at its top with a pedestal-like apex - like that on one of the Dean House fragments and on Lord Balmerino's Lodging - supporting a thistle finial. In the tympanum is a panel containing a lion rampant with unicorn supporters, and the crown set above, while overlaying the raking members are consoles, a less common detail, but enriching the design for a richer client. A running vine-leaf ornament below the frieze is very indistinct because of weathering (indeed, the sculpture throughout is weathered), but might be linked with that on the doorway composed of re-set fragments incorporated as a blank gateway in the relict of the Argyll Lodging south wing (which is said to date from 1674) and the 1622 doorway at Roslin Castle. Whilst Bruce has been shown to have re-used

ideas of Murray's period, nowhere is he known to have reproduced a complex assemblage of features such as this in their entirety; he was more imaginative than that.

Sundial

The Holyrood sundial was contracted for by John Mylne elder, "indwellar in...Dundie" (his sons John the younger and Alexander, whose tombstone is nearby, are said to have helped in its construction), though we have no information on whether or not Murray or Alexander provided or contributed to its design.<106> In the same way as William Wallace before him, John Mylne owed his position to the Master (in this case, Masters) of Works, who recommended his appointment to the post of king's master mason "now waicand...be deceas of Williame Wallace...". Murray and Alexander had "presentit...the said Johnne Mylne as ane qualifiet workman abill for sick servyce...".<107>

Basically an octagonal baluster on a stepped base, with a polyhedron dial, the general form of its pedestal was used as the finial of the Pinkie wellhead, while its top, containing the dials, is, it seems, quite new in its form, with a complex series of dials. One facet on the dial includes a bearded grotesque face in profile, very like one seen on the Newbattle sundials of 1635. The standard of execution is, typically, very high quality.

Lastly, reference has been made to work being done to the Lord Chancellor's Lodging. This is believed to have been the westmost courtyard to the south of the main block. The bulk of the surviving documentation refers to the Kitchen, and other lesser-sounding features, but Mylne's plan shows that a semi-polygonal staircase tower was situated in one of the angles, which might well have been work of Murray's period, for it has been noted that documented 16th century examples of this feature are not known.

* * *

Works carried out at the other royal residences appear to have been of lesser consequence, but as with the above palaces, activity tended to reach its optimum immediately prior to the two major royal visits of 1617 and 1633. For the purposes of this thesis, and for reasons of space, it is not necessary to discuss these other palaces here, as work done was either in regard to existing buildings, apparently minor or not in any detail known, or lost without helpful documentation. Brief reference can be made to Falkland: in 1617, for James' visit, expenditure of £19,232 3s 9d was made, and further repairs carried out in 1625-9; so a lot was evidently done, despite the lack of visual evidence of that expenditure now surviving.<108> In 1633, Charles I spent five nights at Falkland, for which preparation work included painting the chapel ceiling, trompe-l'oeil windows on the north interior wall like the real windows opposite.<109> The question arises whether

the similarly single-aspect Linlithgow chapel might have been similarly treated. The 1629 re-painting of the Stirling Chapel Royal evidently included a trompe-l'oeil window.

* * *

Footnotes

1. See chapter 6
2. In fact, no more coronations were to ever take place in this country.
3. Charles X, exiled King of France is said to have stayed at Baberton while in exile.{Groome, Gazetteer vol.1 (2nd ed. circa 1892), p.107}
4. Accounts, II, p.xxi. To-day, of course, the situation is comparable where but for a couple of days official duties each year, this country from the point of view of royalty is principally a place visited for annual holidays, where, as in 1617 and 1633, hunting forms one of the principal pastimes.
5. Mylne, 'Masters of Work', pp.56-8
6. Accounts, II, p.xxxii
7. ibid., II, p.xli
8. ibid., II, p.ci
9. I am grateful to Dr. David Jones for this observation.
10. Gifford, Fife, p.214
11. ibid., pp.252-6
12. Accounts, II, p.79
13. C. Stopes, The Life of Henry, third Earl of Southampton (Cambridge, Massachussets, the University Press, 1922), p.384.
14. ibid., p.392. It was as if the serious work of 'Great Britain' could not be done unless the king was in England; one contemporary attitude that has proved quite resilient.

15. ibid., p.388.
16. ibid., p.390.
17. J. Harris and others, The King's Arcadia: Inigo Jones and the Stuart Court (Arts Council of Great Britain, 1973)
18. C. McKean, History To-day, 43 (citing Pitscottie).
19. Cited by J. Harrison, The History of the Monastery of the Holy-Rood and of the Palace of Holyroodhouse (Edinburgh, W. Blackwood and Sons, 1919), p.183
20. Edin. Recs., 1626-41, pp.129-30
21. R. Mitchison, ed., Why Scottish History Matters (The Saltire Society), p.27
22. The events can be monitored in Accounts, II, pp.1-23; 47-136
23. RCAHM Inventory of Edinburgh pp.1-25
24. ibid., fig.67
25. Gotch, Early Renaissance Architecture in England, p.103
26. Pevsner, An Outline of European Architecture, p.281. Elements of the Blois plan, incidentally, (as Dunbar has observed) were reproduced at James V's Falkland.
27. Lorenzen, Det Danske Hus, pp.73, 76
28. ibid., pp.82-3
29. Exceptions to this general rule may be on timber/jettied facades, such as the 'Black Turnpike'; but how far these facades pre-date the 18th century is uncertain. The vertical panels at Newark and Huntly are not composed with tiered Orders.
30. Original arrangement is recorded by Charles Tarrant, 1754, on NLS ms.1645/z.2/14a
31. As noted, ornament first in fashion in the 1560s-70s, now being revived.
32. R. Fawcett, Edinburgh Castle (Historic Scotland Guide Book, revised edition 1986), p.6
33. Accounts, II, p.lxxxii; RPC, XIII, p.460
34. Fawcett, Edinburgh Castle, p.10
35. A gateway - evidently a triumphal arch - had been erected for Queen Mary, when she visited Edinburgh Castle in 1561: at the Castle 'quheir wes ane zet maid to hir, at

the quhilk scho...[and the attendant nobility]...raid vp the castell bank to the castell...'. See Diurnal, p.67

36. Sir Daniel Wilson, Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1891), I, pp.160-1.

37. Grant, Old and New Edinburgh, I, p.75.

38. Fawcett, Edinburgh Castle, p.9

39. Caldwell, ed., Scottish Weapons and Fortifications, p.439

40. Spottiswoode Miscellany, I, p.369.

41. ibid., I, p.311. Cited in this context ibid., II, p.xxxviii

42. Rev. John Ferguson, Linlithgow Palace: its History and Traditions (Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1910), pp.178-181

43. The palace was set on fire by the Hanoverian troops in 1746, after they had spent a night there. Most authors unquestioningly accept its loss to have been accidental.

44. D. Pringle, Linlithgow Palace (Historic Scotland official guide book, 1989), p.2. For Ancy, see Jean-Marie Perouse de Montclos, Histoire de l'architecture française (Menges, Caisse Nationale des Historiques et des Sites, 1989), pp.81-2

45. For accounts of the development of the palace see: Pringle, Linlithgow Palace; Inventory of Midlothian and West Lothian, pp.219-31; Lothian, pp.291-301.

46. The edge masonry is moulded as if for a loggia, but the moulding returns horizontally at its lintel/ impost level.

47. The 'caste-system' of late Georgian/ Victorian times, which found expression in Burn's house plans, where servants were hidden, and placed where they were unable to glimpse the wealthy at pleasure, was not in operation yet. cf. Stevenson, 'The English Devil of Keeping State', pp.126-144.

48. Serlio, Architettura. The idea was of course not unknown previous to the 17th century: for instance, the ground floor plan of Mar's Ludging, Stirling, is basically a symmetrical lay-out. The difference at Linlithgow is in the more emphatic use of symmetrical planning.

49. There are bolecion-moulded chimney-pieces elsewhere (though only in the north quarter), made no doubt either when the Duke of York (the future James VII & I) took up residence there, or else when the hereditary keepers, the Earls of Linlithgow, were adapting the palace for their own use, creating a small room at that west end [they were in occupation until the palace was burnt in 1746].

50. Slezer's views of Linlithgow do not help inform with regard to this particular question [Theatrum Scotiae, pls. 9 & 10]
51. In this context, we can recall treatment of late 17th/early 18th century houses of 2-storey 5-bay flat-fronted type, for there too one sees the use of articulation of bay spacing: 2-1-2 at Mains of Glins and Old Ballikinrain, co-existing with the absolutely regular bay spacing of eg Auchendinny.
52. Pringle, Linlithgow Palace, p.2
53. Accounts, II, p.269
54. Lectures 1993: eg to Scottish History Dept., University of Edinburgh, 27th May 1993.
55. Accounts, II, pp.lxxxv-xciv
56. R. Fawcett, The Palace of Holyroodhouse Official Guide (Edinburgh, HMSO, 1988)
57. J. Dunbar, 'The Palace of Holyroodhouse during the first half of the Sixteenth Century', Archaeological Journal, CXX (1963), pp.242-54
58. Six plans are reproduced in Master Masons, facing p.169
59. Fawcett, Palace of Holyroodhouse, p.20
60. Vitruvius Scoticus, pls. 1 & 2
61. Detail of Rothiemay's view is reproduced by Dunbar in Archeological Journal, fig.3.
62. Treasurer Accts, XIII, p.187; p.166 refers to Walter Bynnyng having painted the interior.
63. Lothian, pp.322-4
64. Fawcett, Palace of Holyroodhouse, p.4.
65. Accounts, II, p.lxxxv
66. ibid., II, p.lxxxv
67. ibid., II, p.xcix
68. RPC, X, p.517
69. C. Rogers, History of the Chapel Royal of Scotland (London, 1882), p.cxix
70. RPC, XI, p.25; Rogers, History of the Chapel Royal, p.cxix
71. RPC, XI, pp.31, 39, 48; Rogers, History of the Chapel

Royal, p.cxxff.

72. Spottiswoode Miscellany, III, p.238

73. Purser, Scotland's Music, p.98.

74. Rogers, History of the Chapel Royal, p.cxiv.

75. Accounts, II, lxxxv; I, 132ff.; Edinburgh, p.125. It had of course to be located in an East-West orientated quarter.

76. Spottiswoode Miscellany, III, p.238

77. RPC, X, p.593

78. Accounts, II, p.lxxxvii; J. Nichols, Progresses of King James I, 1828, iii, pp.229-30.

79. Rogers, History of the Chapel Royal, p.cxxii

80. ibid., p.cxxii

81. Accounts, II, p.xc; Ecclesiastical Records of the Synod of Fife (Edinburgh, Abbotsford Club), pp.127-30, 133, 141, 146.

82. Accounts, II, p.441

83. Accounts, II, p.lxxxvi and App II; Mylne, Master Masons, opp. p.148.

84. Accounts, I, p.64; Dunbar, 'The Palace of Holyroodhouse', p.246

85. Accounts, I, p.79; Dunbar, 'The Palace of Holyroodhouse', p.246.

86. RPC, X, p.517

87. RPC, XIII, pp.459-460

88. Accounts, I, p.188.

89. RPC, V (second series), pp.12-3

90. Accounts, I, p.79

91. RPC, III, pp.74, 106-7

92. ibid., III, p.498

93. RPC, II, p.391.

94. ibid., I, pp.428-9. The 'Chapell' was the chapel royal, as distinct from the Abbey Kirk, the 'gallerie', as noted, the northern pile of the north quarter.

95. ibid., pp.12-13
96. ibid., III, pp.106-7
97. Vitruvius Scoticus, pl. V
98. TA, XIII, p.83.
99. Other examples include St Mary's (South Parish) Kirk, Leith; Linlithgow Town House; Hucheson's Hospital and the College, both in Glasgow; St Ninians Manse, Leith (the last-mentioned, like Holyrood, without encircling parapet. The Dumfries Midsteeple has its parapet pierced (like that of the main body of the tolbooth) and deriving from Murray's Parliament House: both in use of that detail and in having a flat leaded main roof. This arrangement was evidently still acceptable for a major public building in the early 18th century, though at Stirling, Bruce (or the client) preferred a pitched roof over the main body of the building. The design of the Dumfries Tolbooth relies more on inspiration drawn from the Murray period.
100. Edinburgh, p.138.
101. ibid., pp.125-48
102. ibid., pp.131, 134.
103. Letters, II, p.707
104. King's Arcadia, p.103; Colvin, Biographical Dictionary, p.472
105. Details, plate 14 & p.4 ("...[it] is late seventeenth-century work."); Gifford was nearer the mark, regarding it as being "probably" of 1617 or 1633. See Edinburgh, p.142. Fawcett, Palace of Holyroodhouse offers no view.
106. Master Masons, p.115
107. ibid., pp.114-5
108. Accounts, II, pp.c-ci
109. Gifford, Fife, p.214

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CHAPTER 11: PHASE II: COUNTRY HOUSES

This chapter looks at the related series of three major country houses: Kilbaberton, Winton and Pitreavie; then the lost and/or the subordinate, houses, such as Seton Palace, Binnie and Staneyhill, concluding with (due to lack of space) only brief mention of some derivative examples.

But first, what of the wider cultural significance of the country house in this first generation following upon departure of the court in 1603? Were there changes brought about by this loss? Was there an Anglicising tendency already, or did the national tradition stand firm?

The answer to the last question would appear to be both 'yes' and 'no', and perhaps the consequences of 1603 were rather more to create a more divided society/landowning class, and to create a courtier class which was soon to become increasingly alienated from its own background. There were in the 16th century (indeed, before then) evidently country houses and town houses belonging to the land-owning classes. But was it not realistic, very soon after James had broken his promise to return home frequently, to believe that a peripatetic royal court would not be seen again, and the need – especially outwith the east-centre part of the country – therefore, for country houses to be in readiness to receive the king, gone? The country house was therefore diminished in

significance from what it had been; and yet, paradoxically, the 'state apartment' was to develop, even in the 18th century, after parliamentary union, as seen for instance at Arncliffe, or Hopetoun. In the absence of the king, it appears that the aristocracy took or held to itself the symbols of royalty, of which the state apartment was perhaps the most explicit.

Also, the question has been posed above whether or not the lessening in this period of martial symbolism was directly consequential upon union: for the symbolic meaning of the king as protector of nationhood was most certainly gone, as he worked instead for full political union; while an increasing awareness and knowledge of the houses of English courtiers was a key towards the introduction of English ideas.

What Patrick Gordon of Ruthven, writing in the early 1640s, termed "the English devil of keeping state" was yet another feature of the post-regnal union period that was to effect changes: by emphasising a stratification in society in a way that was culturally alien; the secular equivalent of a hierarchical system of ecclesiastical structure. It will be seen that these innovations - or assaults - both to the ecclesiastical and to the secular strands of national culture (of which only the latter was to prevail), were also to lead to changes in the architectural requirements of both.<1> Elements of this complex series of tensions are perhaps given physical

expression at Winton (described below), which appears simultaneously to be both more Scots and yet English-influenced.

1. Kilbaberton, Pitreavie and Winton

The key building in this series is Baberton House (originally known as Kilbaberton), near to Currie, on the outskirts of Edinburgh. [Plates XXI - XXIII]

Built by James Murray for himself, it is one of the earliest known examples in Scotland of a house built by an architect - for it must be presumed that Murray designed his own house - for his own use.<2> It has a particular value to the historian because,

a) it survives little altered, and therefore illustrates

b) what Murray, the king's architect in Scotland, required from his own house (obviously, within the restrictions imposed by his financial resources), and

c) what lay-out and style of ornament the king's architect considered both to be appropriate and, presumably, in the forefront of international fashion as viewed from this country, and as it was adapted to contemporary Scots demands.

Here was a man on friendly terms with at least some of the most powerful people in the Scots administration, who was descended himself from gentry, and holding an appointment direct from the king. By building for himself a country house Murray was, notwithstanding his technical background, setting himself up as gentry, and in this he can be seen as an early example of the emergent middle class of educated specialist 'professional',^{<3>} who are possibly a feature more of the second half of the 17th century than of Murray's own time. Perhaps the factors enabling such a promotion included the fact of James VI's promotion to office from outwith the great nobles, of younger sons (eg Earls of Dunbar and Dunfermline);^{<4>} also, it may have been a consequence of the Scottish attitude towards education, as illustrated from at least the time of James IV, whose Education Act of 1496 set in train the basis for a more generally-literate society into which upward mobility was more a prospect than previously.^{<5>} Murray in this regard can be compared with a successor in post, James Smith (c.1645-1731) who became known as "Mr James Smith of Whitehill" from his house and estate in Musselburgh; "Robert Mylne of Balfargie"; and, early in the 18th century, "William Adam of Blairadam".^{<6>} Through mercantile success - particularly in the West, as Glasgow was beginning to flourish - merchants of the period were also able to provide country houses for themselves, and it was here lay the origins of aristocratic families such as the Campbells of Shawfield. The gentrified rank obtained by Murray is the more clear

when we consider that Sir Anthony Alexander was second son (and who, then, could say, potential heir?) of one of the UK's most powerful men, yet partner of Murray's in his job, and the junior one at that. Architecture was evidently well-established in Scotland as a worthy interest for the aristocracy, given the interest in the subject which we know the Earl of Dunfermline to have had, and the fact that Murray's partner, immediate predecessors - and successors - in post were all either gentry or lesser aristocracy. Sir William Bruce was but one in a long line of what are often now termed "gentlemen architects". What sets Murray apart from these others is that he had been an artisan, and was promoted through the ranks. There is no evidence to suggest any previous holder of the post had a similar background, and not till James Smith's appointment in 1683 was this situation repeated in Scotland, while it can be noted that in France, this - as many in this country would have known - is the same step made by Philibert de l'Orme in the previous century.<7>

Because so much of Baberton survives, visual comparisons can readily be made which show it to relate to this whole series of court-style buildings, which display features and details similar or identical to some seen at Baberton. The point is already made that the group stands apart anyway from the main run of contemporary buildings, but given the lack of associated documentation, the survival of Baberton is particularly welcome as it reinforces conclusions already arrived at tentatively, and it helps,

for the purposes of visual comparison, set the whole group in to context. The other country houses most like Baberton are Pitreavie and Winton.

Near-contemporary usage in identical form of features drawn from a precise architectural repertoire puts the matter beyond any question that this group of three houses is associated with the same people in the building profession; indeed, the visual evidence strongly suggests them to have emerged from the same architectural design office.

Kilbaberton

Datestones at Kilbaberton of 1622 and 1623 on top floor dormer heads indicate the exterior walling to have been completed in about the latter year. As first built, it was a compact three-storey block, quite vertical in its proportions, and its U-shaped ground plan was symmetrical as was (so far as can be ascertained) its principal south front whose paired jamb gables survive. In 1765 (datestone) this area between the jambs was made part of the house, enclosed by a new front wall with semi-polygonal front, but the house is otherwise little-altered. This combination of symmetry of plan and of elevation takes us back to the late 16th century court style of William Schaw's period in office, and buildings such as Fyvie, or Scone.<8> Also derivative of previous

fashion was the U-plan tradition, ie the arrangement of having a rectangular house with paired wings at the ends: as Barnes was intended to have, and as was expressed at Culross by pavilions (though pavilions of course made a much less muscular statement), and as was continued in to the Restoration period at Methven, Prestonfield (ostensibly 1689 - but earlier in origin), Bannockburn (actually H-plan) and its near-identical twin at Philpstoun, and Cammo (1693); and ultimately, to Borthwick (c.1430). The fact that this arrangement (ie of outer gables, wide or close-spaced, depending on the length of the body of the house) was fashionable helps account for the way in which Bruce chose to re-model Balcaskie (1665).<9> Like Newark (1597) and the Earl's Palace, Kirkwall (1602), the U-plan arrangement of Baberton comprises ranges one room in depth, the principal suite of rooms at 1st floor level and in the body of the house, the principal entrance facing the court but placed in one of the wings, with a main stair immediately behind linking ground and first floors; again, as seen in the previous generation of houses. At Baberton, the present stair in the west or left hand wing probably dates only from 1765 but the fenestration plus the handsome moulded doorway facing the stairhead suggests that a main stair was there from the outset; like the survivor at the Argyll Lodging, that stair could well have originally been of timber. Viewed on plan, the main stair at Baberton is in the left wing, while at the above two examples and Pitreavie it was placed in the right hand wing, which means that although

the precessional route is similar in all these buildings, it was reversed at Baberton, ie is clockwise.<10> Otherwise, the lay-out is closely comparable, and turnpike stairs alone gave access to the floors above the 'piano nobile'; while at the ground level a corridor which must have been lit from the court, links the wings and gives access to the various ground floor rooms.

The principal room in buildings of this type is the dining room or great hall, each with a large fireplace near-centre on the back wall (ie away from the court) (Earl's Palace is an exception) and with carved stone chimney piece.

At Newark, the architect felt more constrained by the need for symmetry, and the large chimney stack over the great fireplace was duplicated, unnecessarily as it vents no great fireplace, and as the dining room/great hall filled the entire 1st floor area of the centre range, the fenestration was absolutely regular. In most of these examples, the great hall/dining room was the first and largest in a suite of 2 or 3 intercommunicating rooms, and always with 2 stairs, to allow for increased convenience of access.

The 1st floor plan of Winton contains these basic elements alone of a 3-room state apartment, which may go some way towards explaining the asymmetry of its plan, while Pitreavie - whose plan is symmetrical - has an ante room

between the main stair and the dining room. Baberton, although more modest in scale, fits this same formula, the 3rd room in the right hand jamb, ie occupying the corresponding position to the stair, opposite.

Remembering the emphasis on symmetry of the 1597 work at Newark, it is interesting to consider Baberton, of a generation later, in that context. The north elevation of Baberton (equivalent to the Newark N front, ie seaward elevation) is given 3 window bays, but in a regular rather than a symmetrical arrangement; the massive stack to right hand of centre over the great fireplace is not duplicated as it is at Newark (for even if it had been, the elevation would still have been asymmetrical), and the 2 windows lighting the great hall/dining room are significantly - though not uncomfortably - larger than the 3rd window on that floor which lights the adjoining chamber. The lower storeys on that front are absolutely plain, only flat-raised margins, rounded arrises, and only the top floor has any ornament. These top windows reach above the eaves level and have strap-worked pediments given a minimum of sculptural ornament; the treatment of the eaves cornice, too, is noteworthy, for it has a crisp classical moulding, and at each interruption it "dies", or returns, in to the wall (internal plaster cornicework does the same thing) an early use of this quite sophisticated detail. It is again used at the Argyll Lodging and Winton, while the corresponding elevation of the last mentioned is given treatment comparable to that of Baberton, insofar as each

is plainer than the front elevation with most ornament concentrated at the top floor, windows breaking through eaves, regular but asymmetrically-disposed window bays reflecting the internal requirements. So while there is a requirement for symmetry, it does not override the domestic requirements of the internal lay-out as it came to do in the late 17th-18th centuries.<11>

Within the 1765 range infilling the court the original main entrance door survives, minus its pediment, which is presumably that now (for no obvious reason) set face downwards, spanning an angle of the adjoining outbuilding at eaves level. It bears a much-decayed strapwork ornament.

But otherwise the surviving doorcase, unweathered, is exceptionally well preserved, and the most instantly obvious point regarding it is the fact that it is practically identical to the 1632 porch of the Argyll Lodging, Stirling, which house was re-built for William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, Anthony Alexander's father: pilasters, fluted and reeded, pedestals with strapwork, base and capital detail and doorway mouldings all virtually identical. They are alike to the point of there being no question but that they are of common origin or else the one is an exact copy of the other. (Perhaps significantly, the Culross doorcase bears comparison, fluted pilasters raised on ornamental pedestals, though the detailing is not similar.) The closeness in detailing

of these two buildings is made the closer by the existence of a pediment over the garden gate which bears in its tympanum a horizontally-proportioned rectangular panel in a leathery surround, very like some of the pediments which face in to the courtyard at the Argyll lodging and perhaps re-set from the courtyard front of the house.

Ascending the Baberton main stair, the moulding of the door facing is another variant of the Culross/ palace block pattern, moulding either side of a recessed flat strip. This door opens in to the dining room, which, characteristically, is rectangular, the fireplace off-centre on a long wall, window either side of it and another in the gable. Fully timber-panelled, that work looks 18th century (though in proportions, it compares with the panelling noted at the Edinburgh palace block, suggested above to perhaps date from the 17th century) - the cornice plasterwork perhaps later - and a door at one corner (the outer corner of the house) gives access to a narrow mural stair of traditional Scots type. The chimney piece is original, and indeed bears Murray's initials. Significantly, it is a stripped version of the Winton chimney piece, similarly proportioned, the entablature moulded, a deep and nearly blank frieze with vertically-proportioned raised panels of ornament at the centre and ends only (cf. doorways discussed below). The carved strap-work ornament is of characteristically high quality and set in vertically-proportioned narrow panels. The general arrangement of the fireplace is paralleled abroad:

for instance in Holland eg on at least two paintings by Pieter De Hooch - one entitled "Interior of a Dutch House", the other entitled "Interior with Woman Peeling Apples"; in France, at la maison de la Coquille, Orleans and in England at Hatfield House.<12>

The room leading off is square, similar in that regard to the corresponding room at Moray House, though the Winton and Pitreavie rooms are not exactly square. It has had its chimney piece removed, but the surviving ceiling plasterwork is original, and is clearly of the series of examples dating from the 1610s-30s throughout Scotland, many of which survive, sometimes installed in buildings of earlier date, or in buildings which are not necessarily mainstream examples of the court style, such as Kellie. A geometric thin-ribbed ornament, applied motifs include stars, thistle, rose, portcullis, harp fleur-de-lis and (?Scots) crowns, the basic repertoire, indeed, of contemporary ceiling ornament. The third room in this procession, as noted, is in the right hand jamb, adjoining. An unusual feature there - and in the other rooms within the jambs - is the use of corner fireplaces, apparently original, a feature seldom seen before the Bruce/Smith period, but here already, and used previously at the Culross pavilions (not in the related Dunfermline aisle), again at Pitreavie, and apparently dating from about this period, the early part of Floors.<13>

The economical use of available space is quite ingenious.

Having given the two principal rooms (ie those in the body of the house, on the middle floor) comparatively generous dimensions, an economy was made with the third room, in the jamb; it was given a much lower ceiling height, and consequently, the top floor rooms in the jamb are set at mezzanine level. This was a device enabling second floor rooms to be made within jambs which, although full-height insofar as they reach the main eaves level, had much less reach into potentially usable 'attic' space, on account of their shallower plans; with access to much more usable attic space the top floor rooms in the body of the house had a higher reach, so their floor heights could be set higher, and their windows could reach above the eaves level.

Also at the top floor is a longitudinal corridor, basket-arched in profile like the Pinkie gallery ceiling, and also like that at ground level set against the front wall, and giving access to all the rooms. A similar corridor exists at Winton.

Returning to the exterior, some other points to note are the absence of crow-steps - instead, as was seen previously on the Dunfermline aisle (excepting Pinkie, whose roof form was pre-determined by an existing structure which had to be incorporated, the other new-built structures so far noted had concealed and parapetted roofs), there are pitched roofs with straight skews, but more decorative here, their end moulding run horizontally

below the chimney stacks; the shafts of the stacks with flat-recessed moulding noted above as diagnostic of this style and identical to stacks at the Argyll Lodging. The idea of a moulding run horizontally below stacks was to remain fashionable into the 18th century: seen for instance at Crocket's Land, Edinburgh, of circa 1705.<14> So this is another feature introduced by Murray, which was to become something of a national characteristic.

In the tympana of some of its pediments, a pair of garlands, each suspended on a representation of rope looped about a ring, the detail noted above, used for instance at Edinburgh palace, Parliament House and - in variant form - the Argyll Lodging.

Although again the ornament is fairly restrained (no string courses here), there are already the pointers - in the treatment of some of the pediments and in the use for the first time of buckle quoins - towards the developed style, which was emerging in about the early/mid 1620s at Moray House, Heriots and Winton - ie phase II, characterised by an almost unrestrained use of rich mannerist sculpture adorning the features of otherwise plain facades.

Lastly at Baberton, the ground floor: it may contain parts of a pre-existing house, in the parts towards the east, where there are vaults. The west end is not vaulted, indicating either that the vault was dropped out as part

of later (?1765) works, or else that the same thinking that obtained at Culross, Linlithgow and Argyll Lodging was influential here too.

The 1st floor 2/3-room suite of the type seen at Baberton is really a state apartment, equivalent to that at bigger houses such as Winton, 16th century houses such as Elcho, and later houses such as Adam's Arniston. Why did Scottish houses

a) have state apartments, and

b) have state apartments after 1603?

In origin, the idea may be a hangover from the medieval/early renaissance period, when there was a peripatetic royal court; and James IV's policy, from the time of his ascension to the throne in 1488, of constantly being on the move, visiting throughout the country, must have provided the requirement for nobility (at least) to have accommodation of high quality, sufficient for the king's entertainment.<15> Possibly the informality of the Scots court (like that of France, and the opposite in that regard to the excessively formal courts of Burgundy, and of England) was also a factor in this - ie if the court might descend upon the houses of lesser nobles. if the houses of the nobility had state apartments, this would have evidently been a status symbol that many might seek to emulate, in the same way as in chapter three the point

was made that the nobility would in turn seek to emulate the king and what he had. Perhaps once again this was a consequence of an idea imported: the 'keeping state' bemoaned by Gordon and which the nobility was to cumulatively favour, particularly after 1603.<16>

Pitreavie house

Pitreavie was built for Sir Henry Wardlaw, Anthony Alexander's father-in-law. He had worked in a professional capacity with Murray, eg in 1625, when the two carried out a joint inspection of Dunfermline Abbey Kirk, in order to prepare a report.<17> As Henry Wardlaw of Balmule, he acquired Pitreavie in 1608. He succeeded William Schaw as chamberlain to Queen Anne, a closeness which doubtless helped him acquire the burial aisle/space at Dunfermline previously selected by Anne for her own use. Wardlaw was knighted in 1613, and became a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1631.<18> He was a Privy Councillor, and sometime provost of Edinburgh;<19> but he must have been well-known to Murray as in his capacity as receiver of H.M. rents, he was responsible for authorising disbursements for works done on behalf of the crown;<20> also, he therefore falls into the category of political high-fliers who were patrons of the court style and who are known also to have been personally known to Murray. In 1614, the lands of

Pitreavie were erected into a barony, when the new grant document mentioned the "manor place".<21>

The design a variant of Murray's own Kilbaberton,<22> both houses were conceived as symmetrical in both plan and elevation, a U-plan, ie with a pair of wings, their roofs subordinate to that on the body of the house, stair turrets in the re-entrant angles. Again, the ornament is quite restrained, a single string course of the type noted above, Culross-type door pediment with paired garlands of Edinburgh/Baberton type in the tympanum. Undocumented, it can be dated only very approximately for it bears the initials of Sir Henry Wardlaw, ie it post-dates his being knighted, and pre-dates his death in 1638.<23> Another feature of Pitreavie is a curvilinear wall-head gable, near-centre on the south garden front. There are no earlier or contemporary Scottish examples noted of this feature, but for one probable example at Holyrood (infra) - though dormer heads at, for instance, Argyll Lodging are of similar if flatter profile: yet the motif was repeated to the point of being commonplace late in the 17th/c in to the 18th century in eg tenements in the Lawnmarket, Bankton House and even, in variant form at Smith's Canongate.<24>

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Phase II

Already at Linlithgow and Baberton there are pointers to the next stage of architectural fashion which took over from the preceding in about the early/mid 1620s. This is characterised by the use of mannerist ornament, rich, to the point of being extravagant, with extensive use of sculptured detail with almost theatrical effect, fantastic strapworked pediments, with drapery, swags and garlands, representations of gemstones.<25> It will be shown that some of these pediment patterns were used elsewhere in only slightly amended designs, and the implications considered.

A little prior to the arrival of this new fashion comes the earliest documented decorative ceiling plasterwork - bearing in mind that the late 16th century royal palace interiors have been lost without visual record, thus handicapping investigations of what they once were. This type of plaster ornament was extensively used from the early 17th century onwards and in the 1630s indeed, seen at many places like Glamis, which are not of the Court style. The idea, and in some cases the patterns seem, it has been previously suggested, to have come from England, and certainly work, eg at Craigievar compares with, say Broughton Castle, but comparable contemporary work is again seen in Northern Europe, eg at Rapenburg, Leyden, in the Netherlands.<26> The main characteristics are geometric patterns formed by plain moulded or flat and

foliated shallow ribs, roundels, thistles, roses, terms, winged cherubs and, sometimes, pendants.

The most characteristic surviving examples of buildings of this 2nd phase of the Murray-period court style are Moray House, Winton, Argyll Lodging (phase IV work identified by RCAHMS) and - the best known - Heriot's. Among better-known examples, to this group can be added the south and west ranges (at least) of the long-demolished Seton, parts of Dean house (also long gone), Parliament House (re-fronted, much sculptural ornament survives ex situ) parts of Ravelston, garden ornaments at Pinkie, Newbattle and Dundas and a series of monuments in the Greyfriars kirkyard and elsewhere. The long-demolished Glasgow College was a late example, while another outlier on the west coast is the very much surviving Skelmorlie aisle, with its fantastic monument, whilst the aisle itself demonstrates much more than a nodding acquaintanceship with the court style. The Old Meldrum gatehouse is another outlier, but like the Dean fragments and Glasgow College, it lacks the really fine quality of the best work.

Winton

Old Winton house had been wrecked by the English during the 1540s invasions, and although rebuilding may have first begun in about 1600, the major rebuilding phase was

carried out for George, 8th Lord Seton and 3rd Earl of Winton (nephew of Chancellor Seton for whom Seton and Pinkie were built) in 1620 and was completed in 1627.<27> The 1620s work is what, primarily, concerns this study. Without removal of the harl, it is impossible to know how far pre-1620s work is incorporated.

In about 1805, the house was enlarged, to designs by John Paterson. These additions, in a straightforward Adam-castellated style, were wrapped round three sides of the house, but as they reached only to the first floor level of the early house - the principal floor - they are less damaging than they might have been. The additions on the east flank have been demolished in recent years.

Picturesque and asymmetrical, Winton is at first sight completely different from any other house of its time. But closer analysis shows that it can quite clearly be seen to relate exceedingly closely to some major contemporary houses. There are essentially two things particularly striking about Winton;

First, the ornament - very finely carved throughout, fantastic and exuberant; and

Second, the asymmetry.

While it is of the same formula as Pitreavie and Baberton, insofar as it is basically a U-plan with stair turret in

(here, only one of) the internal angles, it differs in that it is consciously asymmetrical both in plan and in elevation, with a tower on one corner - again, flat-roofed as at Pinkie, the parapet this time corbelled (masks, acanthus leaves or other ornament on the corbels) and much more sculptural and sophisticated - open this time, as was that on the courtyard front of the Parliament House, though its pattern was different - an arcade on square piers, very similar to Haddon Hall, England, which may have directly influenced Winton.<28> The asymmetry of plan may be explained as the result of an earlier building being incorporated, though its principal floor conveniently and exactly fits the suite of principal rooms. But ultimately, if an existing building was indeed incorporated, then it was evidently an option to achieve something much closer to symmetry, given that expense was evidently no problem. Indeed, one might have expected a reconstruction to try and conceal asymmetry: not to exploit and exaggerate it.<29>[Plate XXV]

Externally, Winton compares with Baberton, in that ornament on the flanks and garden front and at 1st floor on the entrance front is far more restrained, like the buildings of the first phase of this court style (though a string on the entrance front linking the pediment bases is a new feature - later used at Drumlanrig - where previously, strings had divided floors), yet in richness and type of detail the ornament on upper work of the front is in complete contrast with the more sober Murray-period

earlier style; the windows are aedicular (as were those at Culross Abbey House, one of the first houses in this series), with pilasters mostly Corinthian, fluted and reeded (ie not plain and skinny as at Culross), fantastically elaborate dormer heads. The way in which the stacks are prominently displayed above the front wall-head is an arrangement seen in houses of the previous generation, such as Earl's Palace, Kirkwall, but in their treatment the more meaningful comparison is with the much larger Heriot's. Indeed, decoration has an ornateness not seen on a Laird's house since about the time of Mar's Wark, and while corbie steps - absent from Kilbaberton - are back, they are not traditional plain square steps but instead are themselves ornamented having bottle-moulded ends, a detail used in the period on steps elsewhere, eg the Holyrood sundial and the Dundas fountain (similar steps at Newbattle on two west-facing gables appear also to be 17th century: there is a Murray period building phase identifiable there). A feature of contemporary English architecture is the ornament given to chimney stacks and flues, and both the idea at Winton as well as the twisted pattern given some flues doubtless came from there.

Much of the ornamental repertoire of the 2nd phase of the court style was used at Winton, and some general points, attributes of the style, should therefore be noted now. One of a group of windows which has an aedicular frame, fluted pilasters, reeded at the lower part (cf Heriots and

Parliament Hall) is the top courtyard-facing window on the left jamb; at its ends the frieze breaks forward over the pilasters, and is treated like blocks with tiny masks, these like the winged cherubs on the corresponding position of the Greyfriars monuments; the main part of the aedicule frieze has a pair of frilly swags with a burst of fruit/flowers at the centre of each, exactly the arrangement at the Moray House garden gate, a re-set sculptured panel in the garden wall at Pinkie, some of the east-facing courtyard windows at Heriot's and the Dennistoun and Byres of Coates monuments at Greyfriars. Variants of this arrangement are also seen at Heriot's and the Formula was used in different media, carried over from stone to interior painted decoration, eg at the 1629 repaint of the Stirling Chapel Royal, and on the above-noted title page of Drummond of Hawthornden's poems, is this same ornament, indicating it to be the work of an artist who was operating in this same tradition, and demonstrating Drummond's acceptance, or approval of the contemporary Scots artistic scene: for its use must have felt quite natural, in the context of the time.

Returning to Winton, the top window in the left hand stair turret also has a distinctive pediment - basically a vertical ellipse at the centre, curved outer members linked both by horizontal members and swagged drapes, again close in design to the head of the Moray house garden gate, though the latter has a greater horizontal emphasis, more like the centre pediment on the street

front of the nearby domestic block; the closeness of the two designs is obviously significant, to the point that one could hardly doubt that the same design or designer was involved at both. The same Winton aedicule has in its frieze raised ornament composed of ellipses, diamonds and rectangles, representing inset gemstones, details seen repeatedly on most buildings of this group, commonly used in a variety of combinations particularly on pinnacles at such as, say, the Pinkie well-head. The second top window on the front of the Winton right-hand jamb (the window above lacks the upper part of its aedicule, suggesting either the intention to build higher or a change in the parapet design during building) has at the centre of its pediment a scalloped shell set upright on its curved end, and set with its curved face outwards, a detail which I have not noted previously on 17th century work; though at Melrose, it is used to represent St. James, and at Falkland to possibly represent King James and his status; and it is repeated at the Old Meldrum gatehouse (1628). As at Baberton, the garden elevation is altogether less ornate, and as with the other elevations and the ground plan, symmetry was not regarded as crucial: for it is given 3+1 bays, but is spaced as if for 5 regular bays; again, compare the corresponding fronts at Baberton and Pitreavie which, similarly, are not quite symmetrical, on account of the interior requirements - though the vertical disposition of the window bays is, like Winton, still absolutely regular (Beil was another such example). The lower storeys are, but for string courses, absolutely

plain, like the phase I style, and only the top floor has any ornament, but what there is, is quite interesting: The windows reach above the eaves level which again, like Kilbaberton and the Argyll lodging, has a main cornice that "dies" in to the wall at each interruption; and their window pediments are open-topped with paired triangular bosses in their tympanum like the ground floor windows at Heriot's and the south gable windows at Parliament Hall.

Still on the Winton garden front, it is only the top floor aedicules that are decorative - no strap-work, alternately segmental/triangular open-topped pediments - while the now-familiar string course profile is used yet again. The Winton left flank in particular compares in elevation with Baberton, ie with the tall gable of the body of the house, the jamb on the same wall-plane and set at right angles, similarly proportioned, and full height. (The question arises whether Kilbaberton is the prototype of this type of flank elevation.) So while in some regards Winton obviously fits closely in to the main stream of the early court style, in other terms it is quite different.<30>

But however novel or individual the design of Winton might appear at first to be, the differences from other houses can (as shown) be reduced to two, viz. a) its asymmetry, and b), the comparatively greater richness of its ornament. And yet, as has also been shown, the similarities it bears to other contemporary work of the court style demonstrates it to be no 'freak' or 'oddity',

but a clear product of the style.

Inside, the 1620s planning has been only slightly changed by Paterson's alterations. As at Kilbaberton, there is a suite of 3 rooms, but much grander at Winton, forming a state apartment of high quality: sufficiently grand for King Charles, who reputedly stayed there a night in 1633.<31> This principal floor is (as was the norm) at first floor level of the house. But the house is built on a slope; and on what has always been the entrance front (ie the north front), this principal floor is at ground level; which might suggest that the ground levels may have been altered, as (on analogy with Kilbaberton, or a series of 16th century houses such as Haggs) one would more readily have expected the entrance door to have been in one of the jambs (the west jamb), leading up a single flight of steps to the great hall/dining room, in the usual manner. If the ground levels in the 1620s were as now, then that would in a sense make Winton the more interesting, as it would recall Culross Abbey house, and thus bring to two the number of court style buildings which had their principal floor at 'ground' level.

The original interior ornament is remarkably well-preserved. On the principal floor, the ornamentation is fantastically extravagant in all three rooms. The plasterwork was executed by John White,<32> and it consists of friezes and ceilings, all decorated so profusely that no area of any size is without rich

patterning. The point was first made last century that some of the moulds appear to have been used at Moray House and at Pinkie, which indicates that all these buildings were worked upon by White or else by his close colleagues.<33> The Winton ceiling heights are generous, and to lessen the feeling of height in the two smaller rooms droopy pendants are placed on these ceilings, effectively changing the proportions of the rooms. The range of motifs used is similar to the Kilbaberton ceiling, but portcullis, prince of Wales feathers and other motifs are also used here - the symbolism a fiesta of British union - and the Honours of Scotland, set above a leathery panel, are set in the same way as on the original stone panel set in the east front of the palace block at Edinburgh Castle (damaged by Cromwell's men, it was renewed in recent times).

The largest, or principal, room has dimensions of 44 and a quarter feet x 22 x 13 and a half in height. The proportions were evidently mathematically worked out: the length being almost exactly twice that of the breadth, the height almost exactly two-thirds of the breadth.<34>

The overmantel of the fireplace in the "King's room" is asymmetrically placed over the fireplace and is said to have formed the doorhead of the original entrance, though it is unweathered (though the original Kilbaberton doorcase is little different in that respect). It is an enormous pediment, and in its tympanum, paired stonework

brackets supporting at a low level a circular panel which itself has strapwork finials, particularly at 3 and 9 o'clock and at 12 o'clock. This is another commonly repeated detail, for we see it among the few salvaged stones from Dean House, on one face of the Pinkie well-head and at Greyfriars on the monuments to John Byres of Coates (executed by Wallace) and on the Primrose monument - on the upper part of an otherwise comparatively old-fashioned structure of c 1616 to which the former must be an addition of 10 or 20 years later: the upper part (now fallen) of the Bannatyne monument has a version of the same thing in its pediment, but square instead of round.

The design of the chimney-piece in the present drawing room, as noted above, is a grander variant of that in the corresponding room at Kilbaberton, elaborately and very finely sculptured. Flanking columns are set on ornate pedestals (which have a deep diamond-pointed rustication - similar rustication was used on the Parliament House main doorway, and in shallower form on the gatepiers of Ravelrig) as are those on some of the Greyfriars monuments, and the Heriots main entrance, blocks set over; while the entablature is in its lower part plain but for horizontal mouldings defining it top and bottom, while a narrow piece at the centre is set slightly forward, and monogrammed. The frieze has a running scroll motif with zoomorphic terminals at the centre, a pattern which is seen later at the Skelmorlie monument of c.1639, thus linking that sculptural work with this same court group of

architects/craftsmen: Murray being by then of course dead, though Alexander was still active.

It has been discussed above that a reference noted early this century of payment due by Seton to William Wallace was interpreted then as suggesting Winton was worked on by him and that the house was therefore his composition. The flaws in this theory are discussed in chapter six, but close to a century on there seems no reason to quarrel with the first part of that suggestion in its essence, given that Wallace was employed by Seton. But, it is almost certainly missing the mark to think of Wallace as operating entirely on his own as a designer, for we must always consider what may have been Murray's contribution to any work with which Wallace is associated.

Lost, subordinate, or more fragmentary country houses

Seton

Only a small number of carved fragments exist, now built into the nearby kirkyard wall, to show that the old Seton Palace contained ornament of this court style. This phase of work was built for the same client as was Winton, namely the 3rd Earl; and as the two houses lay fairly close by, with work of a similar character carried out at approximately the same time, it would be reasonable to

expect the same group of people to be associated with the construction of both.

Old Seton palace became a casualty of forfeiture after the 1715 Rising, and was semi-ruinous when replaced by Robert Adam's masterpiece in 1789. Its original form is only sketchily known from early views and descriptions.<35> It was evidently of colossal scale, comprising a courtyard plan, built up in stages. To judge from the few existing 18th century views, it appears that the south range and parts of the west range were of Murray's period, for the views are sufficiently detailed to show that these ranges had strong similarities with Heriot's and with Winton: aedicules, strap-worked pediments, top floor windows reaching above the eaves, tall and profiled chimney shafts, scroll-stepped skewes decorated (it would appear) in the same way as those at Heriot's. The family history informs us that

...he [The 3rd Earl of Winton] compleitit...the jammay hous of Seytoun fra the first jaistis vp (quhilk was fundit and biggit vp tua hous hicht affoir be Lord Johne, his forgrandschir), and rasit the turngreiss thairof, and reparit all the haill grit dungeoun.<36>

From the same source, we learn that the then King's Master of Works, William Schaw, built the north east quarter in the 1580s.<37> Judging by Clerk of Eldin's view, this range was in a mature, classical style, flat-fronted, with uniform window bays (anticipating the Culross type of facade), and it is no surprise that the work of 3-4

decades later should also be of the contemporary court style. The existence of these fragments confirms what is indicated by the sketches, viz. that Seton Palace was remodelled in this court style.

The fragments which survive from the old palace include a complete strap-worked pediment, at its centre a winged head as seen on the Greyfriars monuments and on the buckle-quoined Monkton gateway, grotesque-headed terminals to the outer straps. 2 armorial panels survive, one with the scrolled inscription panel typical of the style, and also with part of its associated border stone, a deep and fluted quarter-round moulding much as seen elsewhere on panels at the Argyll Lodging, Edinburgh Castle and at Linlithgow, while set underneath is a separate bracket-like stone, also strap-worked.

Doubtless the fact that the Earl of Winton was a heritor of Pencaitland parish, as well as the fact that this was his local kirk when in Winton, led to the reconstruction of that building being in the court style too; but it is discussed below, in the chapter on ecclesiastical buildings.

Kellie

A building quite evidently not of this group is Kellie, in

Fife, but it is nonetheless of primary interest to this study. Kellie is perhaps best known to architectural historians as the home of Robert Lorimer's parents, who salvaged the building from neglect, while to historians of music, it is important as the home of the 6th Earl of Kellie, one of Scotland's great composers of classical music. The castle is a composite structure, given approximately its present form by Laurence, 5th Lord Oliphant in 1603-6, who in the process created the existing 3-room suite on the principal floor. But Oliphant had to sell, and in 1613 (the date given in the Register of the Great Seal is 13th July of that year) Kellie was acquired by Sir Thomas Erskine of Gogar, Viscount Fentoun.<38> He married Anne, daughter of the Earl of Dunfermline, thereby connecting him closely to the most powerful noble in the land.<39> In 1619, he was created Earl of Kellie.<40>

The Viscount was evidently soon spending money on upgrading the house to his taste, and in relation to this, one intriguing reference to Kellie appears in the Accounts of the Masters of Works;

9th June 1617, "To James Murray for careing muldis to the plaisterers from Kellie...xl s.<41>

A previous account, submitted by Gavin Pook (= ?Pollok) (who appears elsewhere in the Accounts as a smith) in the week 21st April 1617, may refer to moulds being made available in stages;

To James Murray for 2 going [= 2 journeys] over the watter for the plaisteris mouldis...xxx s.<42>

This Murray is unlikely to be the Master of Works, who would have most likely run up greater expenses than this (cf supra), and who we would expect to be given his formal title in this context. More probably, it was either the same James Murray "wachman" who is noted elsewhere as having in the previous year been entrusted in the role of messenger with "careing the [Privy] counsallis..[letters]..to Falkland",<43> or alternatively (and less likely), the one who in 1633 was "plasterer's man at Holyrood".<44>

But this first reference is of particular value as it shows that moulds used at Kellie were to be used at the Edinburgh palace, in preparation for the king's arrival; so the craftsmen employed, as well as the type of decoration used at Edinburgh must in some respects have been identical to what was used at Kellie. So what do we know of plasterwork at Kellie?

The ceilings of the principal rooms are all decorated with elaborate plasterwork, most of it dating from the Restoration period. But in the "library" (originally bed chamber, contained within a pre-1617 wing), ceiling plasterwork bearing the initials "TVF" (Thomas Viscount Fentoun) and the date 1617 actually survives. This is very important in terms of giving something of an indication of what the Edinburgh palace interiors were like. The Kellie

work is of the type used so commonly in Scots houses of the period: compartmentalised by linear and geometric shapes, areas between the ribs occupied by isolated detail - but is in fact more elaborate than the norm; no plain moulded ribs, as at, say, Kilbaberton, but something closer to patterned strapwork; other detailing more ambitious than the simple crowns, etc of (again) Kilbaberton.

* * *

REVIVALIST OR SURVIVALIST?

Why was Winton asymmetrical? We have seen that in the designs of Kilbaberton and Pitreavie, the two houses most closely related to Winton, the plans and the elevations were made symmetrical, or rather as close to symmetrical as domestic convenience would allow. The late 17th/early 18th century obsession with symmetry (which led to a gothic-windowed kitchen block being designed for Holyrood, to counter-balance the Abbey kirk) had not yet arrived, but the constraints of early Classicism most certainly had, as has been seen in the use of symmetry both of plan and of elevation seen in the great late 16th century houses such as Fyvie, and these constraints were applied in most other buildings discussed here. Linlithgow north range was, as has been seen, very cleverly designed, combining a strict symmetry of elevation with a symmetry of planning which, remarkably, did not relate exactly to

the elevation; while the grouping of the stacks over the spine wall is also strictly symmetrical. And whilst it could be said of Pinkie that it is 'not symmetrical', it nonetheless is obviously 'not asymmetrical' in the way that Winton is asymmetrical. Yet it is obviously not an accident that Winton was treated so differently in this regard. So what was going on? Contemporary French, English and Low Countries architecture was evidently known in Scotland - seen eg with the creation of a French Hotel design at Argyll Lodging. The great Mannerist buildings of Northern Europe are mostly symmetrical: such as Lescot's Square Court of the Louvre(1546);^{<45>} Delft Town Hall(1620);^{<46>} Wollaton Hall(1580-88).^{<47>} Classical architecture in each of these cases was the fashion, with a strong emphasis on symmetry. Yet after Scotland having in the late 16th century seen the designers of the top flight of buildings espousing these same principles, here is a move in another direction, despite the happenings elsewhere. Why?

It seems that while on the one hand the architectural designs and detailing belongs to the European mainstream, the design of Winton on the other hand, manifestly does not. So to what tradition does it belong?

If at Winton one overlooks (for the moment) the style of ornament, which we now recognise as being in its time the latest thing in Scotland, the impression given by the house is of a picturesque building of an earlier age - a

tower house with randomly-placed jambs of differing height, like a 16th century Scots building such as Ferniehurst, or a 15th century French house such as Josselin. Pinkie was asymmetrical, but in the context of symmetry, with strictly regular window bays on its long east flank; it also has corbie-stepped gables, reproducing those of the original house. At Pinkie, the corbie-steps are evidently 'survival', because of there being a 16th century house incorporated. Winton on the other hand is (at least as now seen) new build, and seems to be consciously reviving the architecture of the previous age, abandoning the established principles of symmetry in favour of something else. This tradition that a pre-existing house was incorporated at Winton would - if true - mean that a need to re-use a house of probably asymmetrical form dictated in part at least how the new house would look. But what is different at Winton is the way in which asymmetry is not kept to a minimum, or concealed so far as can be, perhaps by heightening/lowering of jamb walls. Instead, asymmetry is exploited, or even celebrated. Quite the opposite to the thinking behind conversions such as Linlithgow, or (presumed) new-build such as Kilbaberton.

A parallel to the form of Winton might be drawn for example with the design of Carnasserie, with the main stair to the principal floor set within an entrance tower on the right hand side of an asymmetrical entrance front, a second stair set in the angle of another turret at the

left hand side, corbie-stepped gables, the turrets of differing mass, thereby creating an effect of picturesque asymmetry. Also like Carnasserie, the garden elevation is flat-fronted, though on that point the same would apply in the case of Kilbaberton and Pitreavie; and of course it has been noted above that internal requirements led in each of these houses to a slight asymmetry of window disposition on these elevations. The design of Carnasserie is a reduced version of Linlithgow: only one square tower, but the principal chamber contained within; only one 'quarter', but the hall contained therein: as seen at Torwood; Melgund; Queen Mary's house, St Andrews.

So what, precisely, is being revived? At Winton, it is evidently not the ornament, as that is in the vanguard of fashion in Scotland. It is not planning in terms of room lay-out, as it is of standard and continuing contemporary Scots type. It is, rather, the overall form of Winton that is of early-looking type, with individually-roofed asymmetrically placed jambs/towers, with corbelled turrets, all subordinate to the main body of the house. These are the features characteristic of French architecture of the late 15th century and of Scots architecture of the second half of the 16th century - as seen at Ferniehurst, Maybole, etc. Winton is not old-fashioned, and it would be erroneous to try and interpret it in such terms; so it is for us to try and understand in what way, precisely, it was 'modern'.

In the 1633 reconstruction of Holyrood by Murray and Alexander, the Abbey Kirk was given two great west windows with cusping on the undersides of the arches, a characteristic feature of 15th-16th century work, but possibly a reference to the James V palace block at Stirling where the same detail is used. Is this another revival, this time of ornament? 'Survival' seems a less likely option, as the feature is seen only on significant works, and seems to have been unused in the 17th century until 1633.

Conscious revival of early detail - indeed, of Gothic - seems to lie behind the creation of Dairsie Kirk, built anew in 1621 for John Spottiswoode, Archbishop of St Andrews and the senior ecclesiastic in Scotland. Dairsie was built only 3 years after the 'Five Articles of Perth' were passed at the General Assembly there in 1618, which brought religious innovations. These Articles were ratified by Parliament in the same year as Dairsie was built.

Originally flat-roofed and parapetted, like Murray's palace blocks at Edinburgh and Linlithgow, Dairsie was in the use of these features evidently up-to-date in its design, as is the renaissance decoration and simplified pilasters at the main entrance. But in its use of out-dated plate tracery, Dairsie appears to have been consciously "revivalist". I am not claiming that Fife masons of the early 17th century had any substantial depth

of knowledge of the history of Gothic architecture; only that masons knew what types of tracery they or their fathers' generation had made elsewhere, and what forms were regarded as by that time obsolete. The use of heavy plate tracery can only have been recognised as being not simply old, but 'ancient'.

Use at Dairsie of deliberately 'revivalist' ornament seems to relate to the fact that Spottiswoode had Dairsie built as a prototype of what Scottish kirks should henceforth be, for re-established episcopal worship. Dairsie was intended to illustrate visually the true medieval church continuing; episcopacy, cleansed of papacy.<48> It is argued in chapter twelve that Dairsie, and the ecclesiastical state of the time, brought about a neo-Gothic ecclesiastical, in a way that has not previously been recognised.

Similarly, this Winton design is important, because architectural history in the UK teaches that revivalist architecture begins in the 18th century, with the 'Gothic revival', first seen (on a sizeable house) at Inveraray in the 1740s. Later in the century, an early Scots court architecture was revived in the 'castle style' of Robert Adam, though with the work of Burn and Bryce revived Scots Baronial architecture came to be established, particularly after the style had been given royal approval with the erection of Balmoral.

Picking up on the thesis of Beveridge and Turnbull, it can be noted that the history of the colonised country is measured in terms of the the coloniser's own history. Thus, we have the widespread use of the term "Jacobean" which is of course used in a way that is meaningless in the Scottish context, relating as it does to less than half the reign of the last in a line of six kings named James. Might it be that this country does not conform in its artistic thought to England, and that the 'Gothic Revival' of England was paralleled here by a movement of earlier date? That such an attitude towards Scotland's architectural history exists at the more influential levels which leads into error is demonstrated by Summerson in a book which is still something of a basic text for students, in which, remarkably, he wants us to believe that "When Mannerism reached Britain it had crystallised into the style we call 'Elizabethan'".^{<49>} One could hardly describe Mar's Wark (1570-72 datestones) or Heriot's (begun 1628) by such a term. Evidently, the architectural history of Scotland does not fit into the 'British' terminology and received wisdom.

Thus, the point noted above at Balcaskie, of how it aligns on the Bass Rock, is something noted by Colvin as demonstrating that Bruce holds some role in the prehistory of the Picturesque. There is no thought of raising the question that this design feature may not in fact tie quite so neatly in to the English/British context as is implied. Scotland was not competing in some cultural

'race', nor was it out of step: it was marching to its own tune, in the sense that it was, like any other state, culturally unique. The point has already been made that this alignment is in fact a legacy of the 1629 design, while Staneyhill of about the same date is also aligned in a similar way. This does not fit into the established way of classifying architectural history of the UK, and as a consequence is a problem which has been side-stepped, no thought given to the British terms of reference being inappropriate here.

So now consider Winton. More than a century before Inveraray, there is used what appears to be a consciously medievalising, revivalist Scottish Baronial architecture. In Scotland, the concept of revivalism was in fact not new, for the "Haggs-Kenmure" class of buildings, built in the west of Scotland in the 1570s-80s, used revived early gothic detailing in combination with contemporary/slightly earlier court-style architecture of St Andrews-Carnasserie, while the 16th century groined halls of eg Towie Barclay are evidently revivals of late Gothic work. So the idea of a 'revivalist' architecture characterises a range of Scottish buildings of 15th and 16th centuries. But a 17th century 'revivalism' is not a phenomena noted in the standard - if, indeed, on any - books on architectural history. The point is that a national architectural tradition so complex and sophisticated as this cannot be readily straight-jacketted into chapter headings designed by historians for their convenient use.

And that problem is of course amplified when the chapter headings are ones conceived for the purpose of treating the architectural development of another country, as in the fantasy 'England=Britain' school of thought.

The primary elements of Winton which show it to belong in great measure to the earlier Scots tradition are factors which characterise Scottish architecture of especially the second half of the 16th century, features which in turn derive from French architecture of the 15th century. The principal features are the way in which subordinate and individually-roofed elements break forward asymmetrically from and reach above the wall-head of the body of the house, corbelled turrets in re-entrant angles, the greatest proportion of applied ornament set at the upper levels, dormers breaking the roofline.

It is at present impossible to say what was the thinking that led to the designer of Winton - be it Wallace, Murray, Alexander or all three - choosing to produce such an elevation as the entrance front. Or was it the Earl's wishes, his thinking, that led to this design being made, possibly in defiance of his architect's advice on what was and was not 'de rigeur'? The Earl was a significant individual politically, and was a forward-thinking landlord, having developed the coal mines locally, and built a new harbour (named after himself), at Port Seton.<50> His thinking on architecture was unlikely to be uninformed. But on the other hand, it has already been

noted that Sir John Scot, later Lord Scotstarvit, was content with the accommodation provided within Scotstarvit tower, and content too with artisan-produced ornamentation. The difference, though, is probably one of taste, tinged with an element of financial reality, when competent masons were easily found nearby in Fife.<51>

The answer to the Winton enigma has to be a rational, sophisticated reason. Possibly the neo-Gothic of ecclesiastical architecture provides the answer: that if re-introduction of a hierarchical church, with bishops, was the king's wish, could it be that it was this alone suggested the idea of revival in the area of secular architecture? Might a neo-Gothic in ecclesiastical architecture be paralleled by a revivalist secular architecture? Especially if such revival was an expression, through nationalism, of - paradoxically - loyalty to the crown? Crudely: an early form of the 'nationalist-unionism' phenomenon seen to-day in the shape of the kilted Anglophile.

This discussion of the thinking that lay behind the creation of particular designs can be expanded in to a slightly different area: for while the above is a puzzle, the other main question about the choice of ornament relates to the use of detailing which appears to be characteristically Scots.

The single architectural detail which appears to be

uniquely Scots is the buckle quoin. Available evidence shows that this detail was first used – I suspect, significantly – at Murray's own Kilbaberton (1622-3), in a simplified form, only a plain D-shaped loop, the 'counter-buckle' stones a plain recessed treatment of basket-arched profile.<52>

When the idea was picked up in the West, on buildings which are of, or are derivative of, the court style, the form of the detailing was changed slightly. This is one of the factors which illustrate the difference in architectural styles/traditions between the east, and the court, and the west, with its own separate school(s).

But to the significant point: It is well-known of Classical architecture that specific ornamental details refer to specific parts of timber prototype buildings: for instance, the guttae are said to represent timber pegs which on a timber building had a particular structural function. Other details have a symbolic function – eg, Caryatids represent the slave women, and represent the power over these women which the Greeks had, and the Corinthian capital is said to derive from the sight of a basket on a maiden's grave, over which vegetation was growing.<53>

Thus, the buckle motif used on these quoins is commonly seen on contemporary mannerist works, eg the drawings of Wendel Deitterlin, where they are used as fasteners, often

associated with rivets, sometimes in association with hooks with which they are presumably intended to link.<54> But they are never used as quoins. The iconography/symbolism of other of the architectural details used in this type of Mannerist architecture is often capable of interpretation - eg, the motif of the leathery panel is likely to represent just exactly that, carried out in a different material. Strap-work is also a representation of leather, often with representations of metal rings and fasteners. Raised geometric ornament appears to represent gemstones set on a surface.

Use of buckle/counter-buckle detailing on quoins is not so easy to interpret, if not as some sort of 'binding', to clasp the walls of a building firmly in place. The idea seems to be to treat an entire building like a casket, and that is something quite different from what else was done in contemporary Europe. Such individuality, of course, is very important, and two points immediately arise;

a) This indicates a different way of thinking about architecture; but what? and

b) why did this happen in Scotland?

We have noted the idea being like 'casket' architecture. The idea of reliquary shrines such as St Columba's Brechennoch comes to mind, and the word 'casket' conjures up the memory of Mary Queen of Scots' casket letters

(though would it have done in the 17th century?). But no reason presents itself to suggest that either of these associations have the slightest relevance to the genesis of this 'casket' architecture. Rusticated quoins appear not to have been favoured in Scotland until the Restoration period, at eg Raith (1693).

Because the detailing of these quoins stands in high relief, ie is not incised, they must have been uncommonly expensive to make, given the amount of stone that had to be dressed down (something quickly noticed by 19th century "revivalist" architects, eg on the former R & R Clark's printing works at 20 Brandon St, where the quoins carry only the suggestion of their prototypes, despite other detailing, such as the pediments, being of stylised "Heriot's" type. Somebody in early 17th century Scotland was being innovative. And a parallel can be drawn with the scalloped lead flashings seen on the roofs of 16th century French houses, on some English Caroline houses and in Scotland in the work of James Smith (active c.1680-1731) and his followers, where, again, the idea of "casket" architecture is perhaps seen, with the series of piended, frilly-roofed rectangular 'boxes' such as Edrom.

TOWN HOUSES

Two town houses are of particular relevance to this study: Moray House and the Argyll Lodging.

Moray House

Circumstances similar to those at Winton have led to the same conclusion having been drawn at Moray House, where Wallace's name again has a documentary link with the house, or more accurately, the client, since the Dowager Countess of Home, for whom it was built, owed Wallace money at the time of his death, in 1631. The quality of the sculptural ornament is as high as that of Winton and of Heriot's, both of which, as noted above, have a link with Wallace. But it is worth noting that this high quality of detail design/execution continued beyond Wallace's time. The surviving fragments from the Parliament House for example - which was built in the 1630s to the designs of Murray, with John Ritchie (previously active at Glasgow College as Master of Works)^{<55>} - show work carried out there to have been of as high a quality as that of the other buildings discussed above, though it would be fair to say that the strap-worked pediment designs of the Parliament House are different in character to those at eg Winton and the survivors from Seton. This might tell us something of what Wallace's contribution was, though given the great number of the Winton-type pediments, it is highly unlikely that these were all executed by Wallace personally.

Moray House was built circa 1625 as town house of the Dowager Countess of Home. In its design it compares with Low Countries, French or English examples such as the London "house for Ffulke Greville" (sometimes ascribed to Jones),^{<56>} with a narrow gabled front and a 'pergola' or balcony at first floor level, the only such in situ 17th century example surviving in the country.^{<57>} Facing the street, and at 1st floor level, there are 3 close-spaced openings, the inner one a door, opening on to the balcony, and each has a strap-worked dormer head. The balcony is stone-bracketed, a series of identical brackets each ornamented with a distinctive pattern, identical to the pattern used on the paired and similar balconies on the College of Glasgow now re-set on the Pearce Lodge, Gilmorehill.

Balconies of this type are still commonplace in northern Europe, from whence the idea was taken to Scotland. The only two known Scottish examples of the period, however, are the two here quoted. It could be argued that the Scottish weather would have influenced their popularity, but that is unlikely to be true for something which was in great measure a conceit of fashion. The idea was developed in the Restoration period, by James Smith. Thus, at his own Whitehill, of 1686, the house was given a semi-raised basement at the entrance front, a full basement on the garden front, with a centre platt, steps leading down either side.^{<58>} Smith created a similar arrangement at Drumlanrig, where the centre platt is outset at the

centre, to contain a sundial. This demonstrates that the platt was to serve the function of a balcony: that is, it was an elevated area created at the outside of the doorway, to which one could resort; going down the stairs to the garden was an option, but not the single purpose of such an arrangement.

Though not strictly symmetrical on plan, it appears to have had near-identical opposing gable fronts, engaged semi-octagonal stair turret mid-way along the west long wall at the axis of the two principal rooms; placed and treated like the corresponding turrets at the Edinburgh and Linlithgow palace blocks. There were also garden buildings of contemporary date such as the garden house and gateway, whose pediment, as noted, is very close in design to that on the left hand jamb at Winton.

Inside, the stair leads up to the close-spaced doors of the two principal rooms at first floor level. At the stairhead, is a remarkably-well detailed timber balustrade which is almost certainly original, and a centre Doric column supporting the ceiling at its centre. Both rooms are very well-lit, one (overlooking the street, and presumably the dining room) rectangular in plan, the other approximately square, overlooking the garden, and probably the main bedchamber, on analogy with the room proportions of rural houses. The most striking feature of these rooms is their ceilings - both given domical vaults, and exceedingly rich plasterwork, of a wealth paralleled only

at the more major houses, such as Winton. The idea of domed roofs was of course commonplace in the period, but expression of a dome on the interior has no contemporary parallel I can think of - the closest being at eg the Smiths' Queensberry aisle of 1695, or, in a domestic context, at Woodlands Hall Leadhills, in work associated with William Adam - for even stair turrets such as that at Moray House had a flat ceiling.

Argyll Lodging

The Argyll Lodging, Stirling, was built in stages, but the work of principal interest to this study is the remodelling of 1630-32 (the phase IV work identified by RCAHMS) carried out for Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling.<59> The tradition that the phase IV work was designed by his son Anthony Alexander, evidently has substance for, as noted above, he was in 1629 conjoined with Murray in the post of Master of the King's Works, and the ornament is clearly of the phase II court style. The re-use, for instance, of the design of the Linlithgow palace first floor chimney pieces (griffins overlaid with acanthus leafs) on the first floor of the E range confirms beyond doubt the link with the court architecture, as does the chimney stack profile moulding - identical to that at Baberton, on the Parliament House west door and on the hitherto undated forecourt door at Holyrood.

Elements of the Argyll lodging suggest a slightly less assured hand at work than at Linlithgow, and here much of the sculptural quality is slightly poorer than that of Moray House, but the building sequence is complex, and while it has, in the main, been sorted out by the RCAHM in their Inventory, its authors were careful to state that some of their conclusions could stand revision.<60> It is basically a U-plan block, 3 ranges about a square courtyard which is closed on its 4th (west) side by a gated high screen wall, opening on to the street, like a French hotel, such as the Hotel Sully, Paris, of the 1630s. On account of piecemeal building - 2 phases of building in the 1630s and the retention of an existing house - precise symmetry would have been an immensely expensive option: though in view of the Winton design, it may not have been especially aimed at (as achieved in the previous generation when for the court style symmetry was much more important, as seen at eg Fyvie, and formerly at Scone)(subsequent work, in 1674 - if RCAHM is correct - helped give a more symmetrical aspect to the street) but the range opposite the screen wall, or corps-de-logis, was deemed to be architecturally the most important and is arranged in carefully regular bays; stair turrets in the angles, as at Heriot's, but circular, one is re-used from the earlier building and had to remain internal, only its conical cap answering the tower opposite.<61> But the ornament clearly shows this work to be another example of the court style. Thus, the 1630s work has skews and stacks treated like those at Baberton. The skew end

moulding run horizontally below the end stacks (a detail which survived as a standard in to the early 18th century), the fenestration vertically-proportioned, like Baberton or Winton. As at Winton, the garden front is comparatively plain, with a slight asymmetry, the greatest ornament reserved for the dormer heads, while the top floor windows are the most elaborate - aedicules, with fluted pilasters. The courtyard front is reminiscent of Murray's Linlithgow courtyard facade almost, with its single openings set systematically on a big flat wall, their only ornament being their dormer heads - no strings here, even (there's barely room), above the base level, except at the corner stair turret where strings are set between the window levels of the main wall, and not of the staircase, as was done at Linlithgow, although, characteristically, more ornament again at the top floor, aedicules with dormer heads taller than those on the lower floors. A feature unique in Scotland for its date is the square-columned central porch. A 1632 panel helps testify to its authenticity, although it is evidently re-located (possibly from the garden front, which had a direct access from the town) whose door lintel is very plain; though - less likely - it might have simply been an afterthought. (We have noted above its detailing being all but identical to the Kilbaberton door case.) 17th century porches are extremely uncommon, but it can be noted that this porch is much more sophisticated than that at Haddington House, Haddington, an undoubtedly handsome town house of 1680, despite the Argyll Lodging being near half a century

earlier. One building was a sophisticated work of the court style, and while the other was more, even, than simply mainstream artisan (having square-section stone stair balusters like those at nearby Stevenson House - heftyish derivatives of Holyrood, rather than in the style of those at Skelmorlie Aisle) the quality is still noticably less good.<62>

Another point to notice on the dormer heads is that the plain frieze-level beading noted above is seen again here, but this time set tightly by the pediments themselves, indeed just uncomfortably close. Again, resulting in this work being marginally less sophisticated-looking than Winton.

The Screen wall to the street is taken by RCAHMS to belong to the latter part of the 17th century, as a probable part of the 1674 work. The outer face of the gateway has a very handsome doorcase which is a straight copy from plate I of Francini's Book of Architecture, published in Rome in 1631.<63> Since Robert Mylne's family monument in the Greyfriars - also dated 1674 - and its twin - also, surely, by Mylne - at Holyrood to Bishop George Wishart (d.1671) also derive from Francini's book (the frontispiece, to be precise), then it is tempting to suggest that, since Mylne had access to the book in the former year that responsibility for the lodging outer gate - and, by implication, the rest of the 1674 work there - rests with him.<64> But on that same gateway, facing the

courtyard, is another decorative gateway surround, but this time with an appearance much more of the 1630s than of the 1670s, with discs at the foot and at the top of the pilasters; but the proportions are elongated, so while the frame lacks the quality of the best contemporary court architecture, it nonetheless appears that the courtyard was closed and gated on the west from at least the 1630s. Perhaps the outer face was originally plain, which would account for the addition of the present gateway in the 1670s, if that is indeed its date.

Aside from the chimney pieces already referred to, parts of what appear to be the 1630s house interior survive, including a fine scale-&-platt stair (unless this is part of the 1674 work), a doorcase with flat architrave and painted screen, all in timber, and both perhaps the earliest surviving Scottish examples of each. Ashlar interior walling (for instance, at the window ingoes of the upper gallery) with painted ornament applied directly to the stone surface recalls the treatment of Culross and the Dalgety Aisle.

* * *

Another town house which can be linked to this group is Provost Skene's House, in Aberdeen. Dating in origin from the previous century (possibly earlier, in parts), it was re-modelled circa 1669, to approximately its present form.<65> Basically, it is a rectangular-plan in its body,

an entrance front with unequal-sized square entrance tower placed at either end, the whole made consciously asymmetrical, just like Winton. The fact that in the course of this re-modelling it was given a flat leaded roof - now without a parapet, though it was surely not always so - confirms that this work was a conscious attempt to make the house conform to the court style of the Lothians. But as none of the sculptural detailing matches work of the latter class, it is evidently not a mainstream example of the style; though the possibility exists of the deviser of the conversion scheme being one of the court circle, using local craftsmen to design and execute detail. In that sense, Provost Skene's House is analagous with Archbishop Spottiswoode's Dairsie, though the building with which in terms of concept I would compare it most closely is Winton.

Footnotes

1. David Stevenson 'The English Devil of Keeping State', pp.126-44.

2. Craignethan, built in the 1530s for Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, a predecessor of Murray's in this post, is probably the earliest known - unless Myres Castle retains anything built by Sir John Scrymgeour; Drummond's Carnock being long-demolished.

3. Discussed by Hugh Ouston in his 'Cultural Life from the Restoration to the Union', in Cairns Craig (general ed.), History of Scottish Literature, vol. II, p 12; see also M. Lynch, Scotland: A new History, ch.15

4. ibid., p.247

5. The 1496 Education Act set in train the idea of a more generally-literate society; and we can here recall Knox's ambitions for a school to be established in every parish.

6. Colvin, Biographical Dictionary, pp.56, 571, 756
7. A. Blunt, Philbert de l'Orme (London, Zwemmer, 1959), p.3.
8. Treasures of Fyvie, fig.3; David Walker, 'Scone Palace, Perthshire' in The Country Seat, pp.210-4.
9. When Summerson applied the MacGibbon and Ross methodology of the mid-Victorian period to English Restoration/early 18th century houses, his classification noted that houses may or may not have short or long wings. See 'The Classical Country House in England', Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, July 1959, pp.541-2
10. Though - lest there be any consequence to this observation - like these other examples, progression through rooms is still from west to east.
11. cf. Broomlands, the design as published in Vit Scot, and in "ideal" project form, for which see A MacKechnie, 'James Smith's Smaller Country Houses' in Aspects of Scottish Classicism, pls.4&5
12. Henry Martin, La Renaissance Francais (La Grammaire des Styles series, Paris, n.d.), fig 19
13. In England, at the Queen's House in Greenwich, Inigo Jones used corner fireplaces as a heat-saving device, grouping them in clusters where rooms shared a common wall, but on account of the smaller scale of these houses, this was not an option, especially since gable-head stacks were desired.
14. Edinburgh, p.236
15. James' progresses are discussed in Macdougall, James IV, ch.8.
16. Stevenson, 'The English Devil of Keeping State'.
17. RPC, I, p.141
18. Inventory of Fife, p.124
19. RPC, XII, p.707
20. Accounts, II, pp.1, 47 & passim
21. Inventory of Fife, p.124; Fife, p.345
22. Kilbaberton had been held by a Wardlaw prior to Murray's acquisition of it. [RMS, VII, no.689.]
23. Cast & Dom, II, p.544 (Details of Wardlaw and his son are muddled).
24. This feature, plus the use of flat-ended pediments

indicate Smith's intentional use of what he must have regarded as an architecture which was not quite so foreign.

25. Only few monuments, eg the Minto monument at Glasgow Cathedral and not belonging to this group, and the Earl of Perth monument which does, seem ever to have actually had real insets.

26. Kuyper, Dutch Classicist Architecture (Delft, the University Press, 1980), pls.412-3.

27. Lothian, p.472ff. (where the 1620s work is wrongly ascribed to the 2nd Earl).

28. J.A. Gotch, Early Renaissance Architecture in England, pl.xxxviii; The Parliament House front parapet had a similarly English-looking geometric pattern.

29. Skene's house, and the similarity to Winton, is discussed below.

30. That same elevational formula is frequently seen elsewhere on house flanks, at least as late as Methven, in the 1660s.

31. Oliver Hill, Scottish Castles of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (London: Country Life, 1953), p.94

32. Lothian, p.474.

33. Cast & Dom, II, p.523

34. Inventory of East Lothian, p.85

35. See NMRS. Leaving aside the royal palaces, Seton might have been one of the most interesting houses of all, its loss to the nation on a par with the loss of Hamilton Palace.

36. House of Seton, p.37

37. Cited in Cast & Dom, II, p.564

38. RMS, VII, no.883. Erskine was the first of that rank to be created in Scotland, being elevated in 1606. He was kin to the Earl of Mar, the "permanent ally" of the Earl of Dunfermline. (Renaissance and Reformation, pp.175-6) The acquisition date of 1617 given in Fife, p.255, is incorrect.

39. Peerage, III, p.372

40. Memoir of Chancellor Seton, p.107; Gifford, Fife, p.255.

41. Accounts, II, p.79

42. ibid., II, p.73
43. ibid., II, p.11
44. ibid., II, p.553
45. Summerson, Classical Language, pl.68
46. Kuyper, Dutch Classicist Architecture, p.370.
47. Summerson, Classical Language, pl.69.
48. A. MacKechnie, 'Dairsie Kirk', The St. Andrews Area (Royal Archaeological Institute, Proceedings of the 137th Summer Meeting, 1991), pp.41-2.
49. Summerson, Classical Language, pl.69
50. House of Seton, p.59
51. For whom see: Snoddy, T.G., Sir John Scot, Lord Scotstarvit: His Life and Times (Edinburgh, T. & A. Constable, 1968)
52. Architectural History, vol.30 (1987), pp.107-119
53. Vitruvius, The Ten Books on Architecture, pp.6, 104-6.
54. Deitterlin, Wendel, Architectura (Nuremberg, 1594-8)
55. Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis, III, p.481.
56. The King's Arcadia, cat.188
57. It seems likely that timber balconies were not unusual in the period, which would explain socket-holes on houses such as Leslie ('FUNDED JUN 17 1661'). There, unfortunately, the owner in 1991 interpreted that as evidence that a forestair leading to the garden formerly existed there, and built a new one. As Leslie is similar to Innes, nearby, which in turn, appears to have been influenced by Hill House of 1623, it can be argued that Leslie represents something of the fashion of Murray's period.
58. Aspects of Scottish Classicism, pp.11-12
59. Inventory of Stirlingshire, II, pp,277-84
60. ibid., II, p.227
61. The interest in symmetry in these late 16th-early 17th century buildings is discussed by A. MacKechnie in forthcoming volume of papers presented to Catherine Cruft.
62. High-quality design balusters are seen at Skelmorlie Aisle, evidently work of the 1630s.

63. Architectural History, 30 (1988), p.111.

64. Elements of the internal plan suggest the influence, or hand, of James Smith (who was Robert Mylne's son-in-law), as indeed does the 'muscularity' of the gateway: for instance, partitioning in the entrance hall means that the entrance door leads into the right-hand edge of a (staircase) hall, as seen at Melville, or Raith; with a passageway leading off on the right-hand side, comparable with the arrangement at Newhailes.

65. W A Brogden, Aderdeen, an illustrated Architectural Guide (Edinburgh: RIAS, 1988), pp.23-4

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CHAPTER 12: ECCLESIASTICAL AND FUNERARY

The above single heading embraces four different and sometimes overlapping classes of architecture. These are Churches, Private Chapels, Aisles and Monuments. In order that comparisons can be drawn between individual structures within each class, it is most convenient to treat these separately under their own chapter sub-headings. Because space does not permit an exhaustive study, this classification does not pose the problems it otherwise might (eg the Skelmorlie aisle and the monument it contains would appear under different heads, as would the Pencaitland Kirk and monument). The selection of funerary monuments discussed is confined to Greyfriars, by far the most impressive series.

The ecclesiastical buildings of the Renaissance period can be divided in to three groups, viz.

a) parish churches,

b) private chapels, access to which was generally more restricted than was the case with parish churches. These chapels might either be free-standing, as at, for instance, Ferniehurst - with centre door, presumably facing pulpit, reminiscent of the way in which family aisles commonly faced the pulpit - or alternatively,

might be within buildings, as at Heriots, or Auchans. These are not discussed here in depth.

c) aisles added to churches (or unusually in the period, as at Collessie {1609}, or Clachan of Campsie {1715}, free-standing)

A fourth heading within this chapter is funerary, of which more below.

The third of these groups comprises probably the largest of the three in terms of sheer numbers to survive. Privately-funded, and for family use, they were a post-Reformation response to the pre-Reformation tradition of investment in ecclesiastical buildings in the form of lay altars, chantry chapels and collegiate churches.<1> Often these aisles were built by families who continued to maintain them until the 19th century, at least;<2> whereas churches were more likely to be rebuilt in the 18th or 19th centuries, and chapels seem never to have been particularly numerous. To begin a consideration of this area of architecture we must start by considering the first group, because parish churches were the archetypal ecclesiastical buildings. The function which these buildings served is considered, as well as the liturgical requirements made of them.

* * *

The Reformation in 1560 brought to the reformed church an inherited parish system together with a legacy of operational parish churches.<3> Subsequent alterations to parishes/boundaries were not immediate or wholesale. So there was no sudden demand for building of new churches in the way that was experienced after the Disruption of 1843; the existing buildings were generally serviceable and could readily be converted or adapted for reformed worship. Thus, there is a series of church buildings such as Hutton and Corrie or Kirkpatrick Fleming in Dunfriesshire, Kilfinan in Argyll, which are evidently medieval in origin, adapted or enlarged over the years for changing parish needs. Outside the cities, the churches of most towns and rural parishes appear in the main to have characteristically been long and, by later standards, comparatively shallow-plan, gabled structures, rectangular in their outline plan. The wealthier parishes might have had grander and wealthier buildings – even some of the great abbeys were converted for use as parish churches as the former duties of the residential clergy were done away with.<4>

Set in the European context, the Scottish Reformation was remarkably peaceful: for it was exploitation of an opportunity afforded when the Regent Mary of Guise had been marginalised (she was shortly to die) and the Queen had not yet arrived in the country: no powerful monarch on hand to force a counter-Reformation, no mass executions of 'heretics' as in Spain or England; indeed, the same is

true of the 'secondary Reformation' of 1567 (though bloodshed was to follow in the civil war of 1568-73) .<5>

Of course there was a strong political undertone to Reformation, fuelled by dissatisfaction with the ever-increasing French ascendancy promoted by the French-born Regent, and the Protestant, pro-English party helped expel this French ascendancy.<6> But there was also a powerful intellectual force driving through these changes, as represented by Knox.<7>

People were to be taught Christianity as interpreted by some of the greatest minds in Renaissance Europe. In Scotland, the reformed faith required the application of philosophical thought, and demanded of the congregation the ability to absorb sometimes complex arguments. In the excitement of ideological revolution there was no thought that the new thinking and interpretations might be in error, whilst it was recognised that to the "uneducated", some of the arguments leading to "truths", or to their justification, might be no more than sketchily understood. If not only the new thinking, but also the logical thought processes that led to the new ideas, was to be understood, then the congregation had to be educated; and no less crucially, the clergy itself had to be educated to a sufficiently high level (for this was one of the grievances which helped fire Reformation).<8> The existence of an intellectual tradition dating from an early time is not in doubt; and this emphasis upon

education may owe something to the fact of a nobility made more widely literate in great measure through James IV's Education Act of 1496.

But what has this to do with church building in the early 17th century? Two things, both resulting from the Reformation, for Scotland was now faced with a question; what should a Reformed church look like? For church lay-out and design was to be governed by the new thinking, necessitating changes to

a) furnishings, and to

b) plans/designs of church lay-out.

The new theology was responsible for an incredible and disgraceful artistic and cultural loss, unparalleled in Europe: expensive ornaments, images, decoration and display were out. Where was the justification in the Bible for having any of these? Representations of saints came under the heading of "graven images", and were definitely out, as directed in the Books of the Pentateuch. The argument that images were educational could, as we have seen, no longer apply if the population was to be educated, but the point was that Christ did not preach of any virtue in wealth and in worldly possessions - quite the contrary; born in mean circumstances and dying a squalid death, his message pointed to higher things than the material, and so as that is what was preached, that is the

rule that was followed. Grand visual displays had no place in teaching of the Word, and indeed could be a distraction from the sermon, which was now the principal part of the service. The buildings, as a consequence, were much less adorned than was seen as desirable (indeed, almost necessary) by the clergy in the pre-Reformation context - though as will be seen, this image of impoverishment was too much for the wealthier classes to thole, fearing that humility might be confused with impecuniousness, and recognising too that symbols of wealth were also symbols of power.<10>

Secondly, the form of the service changed, especially after presbyteries became after 1586 more numerous and more powerful, and Presbyterian Church Government was formally established in 1592.<11> No longer was worship focussed on the chancel/sanctuary/altar and on the ritual. Now, there was a direct approach; if any thing was not authorised by Christ, then it had no place in his house. Along with the images etc discussed above, out went the Roman ritual to be replaced by one that was utterly straightforward. The Bible said nothing about the visual aspect of worship holding the slightest interest for Christ. Worship was simplified to what was seen as being its essentials. Anything which went beyond was a vain irrelevance, made for the pleasure of man and not of Christ. There were now only two sacraments, Communion and Baptism. The first was held infrequently, thus emphasising the fundamental importance of that sacrament, and of its

gravity.<12> The second sacrament was the sacrament of baptism, which would be carried out as and when necessary. Furnishings required within churches for the reformed worship were therefore few in number; the altar became a communion table;<13> and there was need for a font. It seems that fonts were no longer the upright or piscina types, usually hollowed out from a single stone, but came to be metal dishes set on a wrought-iron bracket, usually mounted to the pulpit, like those still existing at Pencaitland and Durisdeer. Besides communion vessels, these were the only furnishings required for the sacraments.

The fundamental change in the form of worship was to shift the focus of the service away from the ceremonial/liturgical onto the Word of Christ, ie the sermon. Thus, besides seating for the congregation (not always provided until the 17th century, sometimes later), lamps and hour-glasses, the pulpit was the only other furnishing required in the new style kirk. Hence, the most fundamental change of all: the transition from processional lay-out and focus on the east end, to a centralised form of lay-out, all parts of the kirk focussed upon the pulpit.

Within the general principle of visual simplicity and restraint, both financial and artistic, demanded by the new theology, there was allowance for some flexibility. The pulpits for example of Pencaitland and of Gifford,

both of which appear to be early 17th century, are both very elaborately decorated, while even the pulpit in St Andrews said to be that of the great John Knox is uncommonly elaborate. But the greatest ornament seen in most parish churches was in the Laird's aisle. There was displayed a wealth which must have flown in the face of the theology, through vain display of privilege, social superiority, and power. But did this display exist from the early days of Reformation? Or was it re-introduced in the early 17th century?

* * *

Returning to the legacy of pre-Reformation churches; it has been noted above that many were basically long rectangular-plan structures, and a standard conversion treatment emerged for reformed worship. The pulpit was re-located to a central position set against one of the long flank walls (usually the south wall), and set usually between two tall windows which would require to be slapped out, an arrangement continued in to the 19th century. This class of building would also have a single doorway set at either end of the south wall (eg Weem, Balquidder [1631]) or in the gable; or, as in the case of Pencaitland, in both.<14>

As noted above, some parish churches (many more, I suspect, than has been previously noticed) surviving to-day have their origins in the pre-Reformation period,

being aligned E - W, and containing thick rubble walls, though they have been altered sometimes enormously over the years, heightened, deepened and re-windowed. Looking to-day, it is quickly seen that a feature which many of these early buildings have in common is that they are not rectangular, but T-plan.

The T-plan is also the result of a standard response evolved with the need to enlarge a church. This could be either a requirement to accommodate more people, or else to enable the principal laird, or heritor, of the parish to build his own family aisle. To lengthen a church might mean people at the back would have difficulty hearing, and might also create a visually unsatisfactory tunnel-like effect. (Here, the distinction can be drawn between something being pleasing to the eye, as opposed to something being expensively ornamented; the difference between informed use of proportion and applied ornament.) Also, there was a distance-limit on how far the sermon could be conveniently heard on either side of the speaker.<15> We have seen that the Dunfermline aisle of c.1610 was set against the west gable of the mediaeval church, and the Hepburn aisle, Oldhamstocks, Berwickshire, of 1581 was similarly disposed, but this time set against the church east gable. The latter arrangement was also made at Lochgoilhead, with a mural monument incorporating the entrance to the aisle. Deepening the building in plan would be expensive, involving demolition of an entire long-wall and requiring a completely new roof which would

introduce comparatively greater expense as more massive timbers would be required for a wider span. The solution reached was quite ingenious; this was the building of a jamb or aisle, which meant that an already centrally-planned church now had three arms which focussed on the pulpit instead of two in a rectangular-plan church. As a jamb cut into only part of the church, only a small area of wall required to be demolished while the roof could remain intact, carried on a single beam or on an arch over the front of the jamb/aisle. The addition was placed directly in front of the pulpit (ie it was set centrally on the north wall), and thus provided the best seats, facing the minister, yet was liturgically acceptable for precisely that reason. Renaissance principles of centralised planning were ideal for Scots reformed worship: while the various attempts to enforce episcopalianism on Scotland gave at least one major building - Dairsie kirk - which was in a different, 'antique' architectural style, and seems in turn to have initiated a neo-Gothic ecclesiastical architecture.

With the changed order of emphasis came changed church design; no longer did religious services provide a substantially visual experience, with worship focussed on part of the building - reformed worship placed its emphasis on preaching of the Word. It was judged essential that all should hear and understand. Thus, the central placing of the pulpit, and the T-plan church making more visually obvious the liturgical demand that central

planning was the direction in which architecture was to go. James III's hexagonal 'Capella Regis' at Restalrig (building in 1477) is the earliest known example of centralised planning in the spirit of the Italian Renaissance,<16> but Burntisland of 1589-95 is the most obviously centrally-planned building in the immediate post-Reformation period,<17> its centralised square pattern used at the same time in the Dutch reformed church, reflecting the close theological links between the Scots protestant church and that of the Dutch, as well as reflecting Scotland's commercial links with the country that was rapidly establishing itself as the new commercial centre of Europe, as northern Europe was gradually taking over from south in importance, as the American trade was growing.<18> But in Scotland, a generous architectural legacy meant there were as yet few new-build post-Reformation churches, and as a rectangular plan with centre pulpit could readily convert into a 2-armed centralised plan building (and the T-plan a 3-armed version of the same idea), there was little pressure to build anew.

When did this T-plan evolve? As the site of Stenton Kirk was transferred in 1561 to its present location, it is one of the earliest post-Reformation buildings we have; now a fragmentary ruin, it appears at a glance to have been a T-plan, but its north 'jamb' is said to have been originally a sacristy.<19> Sufficient survives to show that a doorway was placed at the west end of the south wall, but whether

a corresponding one was placed at the east has not been determined.

The old and now ruinous church of Kemback (where Alexander Edward once preached), and which bears the date 1582, is a T-plan, but it is not certain whether the jamb/aisle is co-eval or is an addition. The jamb is not set central on the south wall, and the building is thus asymmetrical in its plan, so it does not represent the developed, symmetrical T-plan. Falkland (1620) by John Mylne,<20> Careston (1636),<21> and Edinburgh's Tron<22> are other early examples of new-build T-plan kirks, and not really till the 17th century did the T-plan assert itself as the pattern that was to remain standard until about the early 18th century (used by Smith and MacGill at Dumfries [1724-6] and Newbattle [1727]) - though surviving into the 19th century, used as one of the two patterns for Parliamentary churches in the Highlands.<23>

DAIRSIE

The church built in 1621 at Dairsie for John Spottiswoode, Archbishop of St Andrews, is particularly interesting because of Spottiswoode's political position as primate, and James' chief advocate of the Episcopal innovations, and because it is designed in accordance with the Five Articles of Perth. These were 'episcopalianising'

ecclesiastical innovations pushed in 1618 through the Perth General Assembly. This document set out the Episcopal form of worship demanded by King James, and very much promoted on his behalf by the archbishop.<24> This was soon after James' visit to Scotland (one of the few serious pieces of work James centred upon his visit), during which time he laid the groundings for his ecclesiastical innovations, not least by the reconstruction of the Holyrood chapel royal for Episcopal worship: with "a glorious altar set vp, with two closed Bybles, two vnlighted candles, and two basins without water sett thereon, organs put vp, and his Maiestie's Quiristers appoynted to sing and say the English Service daylie..."; which form was used also in the Abbey kirk.<25>

A buttressed long rectangle, what in its planning particularly sets Dairsie apart from other churches of the period is the way the building is laid out; there is a grand processional doorway in the west gable which opens into a long space, a pair of large windows in the east gable opposite, intended to light a sanctuary, and very different from the norm, where attention was not instantly directed towards the opposite end. The windows being equal-sized is something emerging from the pre-Reformation tradition and seen at for instance St Machar's and Dunblane, where equal-sized windows were grouped, though the Dairsie arrangement compares too with the east end of St Monans.

Dairsie is therefore a unique and - by one set of criteria (ie the idea of reviving an early style) - innovative design: or, alternatively, might it be a regressive design (for in looking forward, it looks back to an age of episcopal worship, and introduces an architecture of historical fantasy)? New, is the idea of episcopacy, cleansed of papacy. Here was the first such arrangement built since the Reformation, with the single exception of the royal chapel interior re-ordering of Holyrood. Or perhaps it is even more important than previously recognised, for it appears to be a progenitor of a neo-Gothic ecclesiastical architecture. As seen in chapters two and three, such things were ever-complex: and perhaps Edinburgh's Greyfriars, a Gothic-windowed aisled rectangle of 1602-20 which re-used stonework of the convent of Sciennes, represents a contemporaneous Gothic survival.<26> Alternatively, is it a pre-1617 Gothic revival?

Here once again, then, was seen the distinction between the clergy and laity, for the congregation would enter to face the east, where ceremonies were enacted in which the people were excluded. In terms of architectural style, it is not properly of the court style, and indeed the bellied string moulding is of the type in popular use in the second half of the 16th century (Dean's Court; Schaw monument; Kilmaurs) and in Fife, into the 17th century on what are evidently works by local rather than imported craftsmen. The parapetted flat roof on the other hand,

which it had until 1794,<27> however does show that the contemporary court style work was being consciously referred to, but at a stage removed. Whether a design was obtained in Edinburgh and executed without supervision can be no more than guessed at - the rank which Spottiswoode enjoyed would tend to suggest that Murray would have been consulted if Spottiswoode wished to use him, both in view of his being available to major political/government figures and because of his having been previously involved in setting up the chapel royal; but the architectural evidence indicates that the architectural input here, in terms both of quality of design and execution, was not the same as Murray's at Linlithgow.<28>

Most obviously alluding to times past, and the pre-Reformation church, is the use of an early plate tracery. It is not suggested that architects/masons of the time were architectural historians, hence use of revived early work. But it is submitted that these architects/masons knew what was in fashion - or more correctly - had recently gone out of fashion, and therefore, they knew too what was regarded as old, or ancient, as opposed to what they might have known their older colleagues to have built. This same symbolism of 'antiquity' may have inspired the placing of the Dairsie belfry, corbelled over the southwest corner; for (as has been seen) the idea of a single southwestern tower was associated especially with 15th-early 16th century ecclesiastical work, such as St Serf's Dysart, St Salvator's, and even King's College.<29>

The ecclesiastical point is that here, Spottiswoode used an architectural style that looked back to antiquity in use of some features, thereby claiming an antiquity for the episcopal form of worship, whilst the architecture simultaneously looked forward, in picking up features from the contemporary fashion; and in the wider context, in terms of straight architecture, it would appear that Dairsie, and the Five Articles, were responsible for a neo-Gothic architecture at a remarkably early date.

One style of Gothic ecclesiastical architecture chosen for the court architecture was reticulated tracery, as is seen at Heriot's and at Holyrood, while at South Queensferry, a massive Y-tracery is seen, analagous in its 'primitiveness' to that of the Dairsie tracery. At Glasgow Tolbooth steeple (begun 1626), the style is Renaissance, while at the nearby Tron Kirk steeple (begun 1631), the style is Gothic ('late Gothic', according to one authority); and yet, the master mason John Boyd was involved with both, most likely in their design.<30>

And then a paradox: for a kirk such as Balquidder (dated 1631), a geographically 'remote' building, used flat-lintelled openings; because the 'neo-Gothic' had not yet found favour there, and the tradition was still a 'Classicising' one. Thus, by the terms of orthodox architectural assessment, Balquidder (Classical) is more sophisticated than the Heriot's Chapel (Gothic). Such evident logic is, no less evidently, nonsense. Thus, the

consequences, should we stagger backwards to apply the traditional, or 'British' orthodoxy which has served us so long.

Aisles

The idea of family aisles being added to churches was popularised from the second half of the 16th century onwards. These were structures built for – usually – the dual purpose of providing a burial vault, usually subterranean, and of providing a family pew. They were therefore by definition built only by the wealthy, and were power statements. Typically, they comprised a gabled rectangular structure built against a church wall, the latter with a large, arched opening slapped through. In the Bruce/Smith period, aisles sometimes included retiring rooms, as at Abercorn, or were given a family monument, where, as at Durrisdeer, the family pew was retained within the kirk, retiring rooms in a different part of the building.

Some of the earlier aisles, such as Oldhamstocks (1581), were built against the east gable: as if to exploit the significance which the pre-Reformation church attached to this part of the church, as an even more explicit power-statement. More commonly, however, aisles were placed central on the north wall, directly facing the pulpit: the T-plan kirk. If there was more than one major heritor in a

parish, then there might be more than one aisle - as at Lasswade, or Abercorn, but the T-plan was evidently the most visually acceptable, and helped inform the T-plan kirk as the ideal pattern.

But it was to be as centrally-placed jambs on the north long-walls that aisles were to become perhaps most commonly seen. The 'Classicising' of the 16th century led to use of a flat-lintelled architecture in this class of building, as seen at Kilbirnie (dated 1597), or Kilmaurs. Post-'Five Articles', a different basic formula emerged: as with church architecture, there was a neo-Gothic architecture introduced, with pointed windows, and also as with churches, this pointed-window Gothic architecture had doorways Renaissance/Classical in character, round-arched or flat-lintelled (best illustrated perhaps by the Archerfield aisle).^{<31>} Aisles were gabled, and came to have a single gable window of particular type, as characterised by Skelmorlie Aisle: 2-light lancets, possibly with a single transome near or beneath mid-height, a single tear-drop or vesica-shaped crowning light above. In the Murray-period court architecture, crow-steps tended also to be done away with, the preference being for straight skews with moulded ends, shaped skewputts. The aisle entrance door was typically on the west flank (Duddingston is an exception, as is Dirleton, the aisle, unusually, on the south wall). The Winton aisle at Pencaitland, and the Skelmorlie aisle, illustrate this.

Greyfriars'

Before the beginning of the 17th century, Edinburgh was Scotland's leading burgh, with a concentration of wealth among its middle, merchant, legal and wintering upper classes unequalled outside the city. By the 16th century it was coming to be recognised as the administrative capital, and was firmly established as the nation's economic power-house by the commencement of the 17th century.<32> As is now clear, it came also to be the centre for the court style of architecture: there was now of course no royal court in Scotland; but neither was there a travelling court, as there had been prior to 1603, which could shift the focus to elsewhere in the country. Notwithstanding its being no more a principal residence of the country's king, left to its own, Edinburgh held and consolidated its position as the administrative and cultural capital, while places like Dunfermline and Falkland simply declined in importance, as their palaces, unwanted, fell into ruins. The wealth in the city was colossal, more than sufficient to enable some of the 'elite' to enter another area of expenditure, viz the magnificent commemoration of life past. Thus, predictably, the best series by far of 17th century funerary monuments in the country are in Edinburgh, in the Greyfriars kirkyard. Built up over the whole century, the assembly can be divided into 3 main architectural

groupings;

First, there are the early monuments, mostly placed along the east wall; several very similar, basically tomb chest recesses, basket-arched, paired outer pilasters, profuse but fairly untutored classical detail with mannerist ornament. The Nasmyth (1614), Laing (1614) and Heriot (c 1610) monuments are all of this group.

Second is the group which concerns this paper, ie that of the Murray period court style, of which more below.

Third is the group dating from the Restoration period, mostly upright aedicules, taking their lead from the Mylne family monument and the court style (if that term can be stretched sufficiently) of the Bruce and Smith period. (Archbishop Sharp's monument in St Andrews, c.1679, with its flanking torches, was also widely used as a prototype for countless variants of a similar design).

* * *

The Monuments

Excepting the Dennistoun monument (1626), the monuments of this group are placed against the west wall, that is, opposite to and facing the early group. Their characteristically high quality of design and of execution makes them quite distinctive and recognisable. They are

the monuments to John Byres of Coates (d 1629), George Foulis of Ravelstoun (d 1633), Thomas Bannatyne (d 1635) and Sir Thomas Henryson of Chesters (er 1636). Two of these monuments - Byres of Coates and Foulis of Ravelstoun - already have a documentary link with the court craftsmen, the first to Wallace, the second to Aytoun. All these monuments are broadly similar to one another, and show on the one hand their continuing in the established tradition, in that all are aedicular frames raised on a pedestal, with usually paired outer columns (only the Dennistoun monument has single columns), and a top stage of much lesser dimensions, also, but for one, an aedicule. In this general arrangement they stand comparison with some late 16th century structures, such as the Moray monument in St Giles (original destroyed, 19th century replica based on 18th century sketches - conceivably also of some fragments - of the original), William Schaw's monument at Dunfermline, and the doorcase of the Stirling Castle Chapel Royal, but the Greyfriars monuments are grander and more upright than the latter group. Their ornament is from the common repertoire of the style, ie as seen on the other buildings of this group, but with the inclusion of appropriate funerary details, and on all, the sculpture is very rich and, characteristically, finely executed.

Use of paired columns/pilasters carried a particular meaning: that money was no problem, for whilst one column might in practical terms suffice, paired columns bespoke

grandeur, whilst the use of a central arch detail hinted at the symbolism of the triumphal arch. The arrangement is well illustrated by the Stirling Chapel Royal (1594), but was seen previously, eg on the 1570s Regent Morton gateway at Edinburgh, and was to continue in the mainstream until the time of Robert Adam (eg Newliston), and beyond.<33> Columns/pilasters, usually paired, and in association with a triumphal arch comprised by the 17th century a standard formula: as seen at the Heriot's gateway, the Bruce-period Holyrood entrance; and, discussed here, the aedicular mural monuments of this court style.

Discussing these monuments in turn, that to Sir Robert Dennistoun can be looked at first, as it is the earliest (1626).

Sir Robert Dennistoun of Mountjoy (of the family of Colgraine)

Already noted above, when linking it to aedicules at Winton and Moray House, but some further points can be noted now. An aedicular frame, the frieze projects block-like over the capitals in the Roman manner (cf Arch of Constantine) with winged cherub heads, as on most other monuments of this group. Its columns, for example, are near identical to those of the chapel door at Heriot's, deep fluted and reeded, loop detail at the column bases, discs at their necking. The treatment of the Corinthian capitals is also very alike on the two structures, the mid-way volutes

being unusually pronounced; its cornice is straight, ie does not break forward over the columns at the ends, as is done on the Bannatyne and Ravelstoun monuments, but it is treated instead like the Henryson and Byres monuments. As on most 17th century doorcases and monuments, the frieze has emphasis at its centre, in this case a block set on a scroll console whose detail is distinctive - an acanthus leaf inverted, overlaid on its upper part by a fan-shaped leaf; this same detail is seen on the Byres of Coates monument, on the main corbels of the Henryson monument, and at Heriots. The manner in which the family armorial, in the top stage, is executed also merits note, for it may be the earliest example where the drapery and foliage issuing from the background are treated with such flamboyance, in the manner which became popular in the later part of the century, but which was not achieved in the 16th century. The one other point to note is the particularly strong similarity between this monument and that to John Byres of Coates, which, as has been noted, is linked to the name of Wallace.

Sir Robert Dennistoun was, as his Latin epitaph states "...formerly the king's ambassador; and, for thirty years, conservator of the Scottish privileges in Holland..." (having been in charge of the Scots staple at Veere). He also served in England and in Spain. He died aged 78.<34> It was Dennistoun's widow who caused the monument be erected.<35> It is no surprise that someone in his position should have a monument by the Kings own

craftsmen, and interesting also that despite the contacts he and his family must have made in the Low Countries in a period and environment of artistic excellence, that a locally-made monument, however expensive, was considered to be suitable when importing a foreign one was an affordable option.

John Byres of Coates

Coates was prominent in the public life of the capital, having served as treasurer of the city, bailie, suburban bailie, Dean of Guild and was for 2 years provost; he died 24th November 1629, aged 60, and his monument was erected by "A.S." [Agnes Smith], his spouse, and his children.<36> As noted, this monument has strong affinities with that of Sir Robert Dennistoun, but there are differences - most obviously (if least significantly) paired columns instead of single ones.

Like Heriot's is the treatment of the broken pediment, with triangular bosses in the tympana, as on most of the outer ground floor window heads. (Similar pediments are seen at Winton too). The winged cherub masks on the blocks over the capitals, the centre monogrammed block with console, the swagged frieze ornament are all strongly reminiscent of the Dennistoun monument, and given that the similarities here are particularly strong the probability is that it too should be linked to Wallace's name. But it

cannot be shown one way or another whether or not it should also be linked to Murray's.

George Foulis of Ravelstoun and Janet Bannatine

The monument to George Foulis of Ravelstoun is documented as being by William Aytoun, 1636.<37> Aytoun, mentioned above as the designer of Innes house, was a prominent master mason.<38> A portrait survives which shows him and his wife together, and on it he is described as "MEASTR MEASON TO HERIOTS VORK" , a post he had obtained in 1631, together with John Watt, following the death of Wallace, whom he succeeded.<39> Surviving fragments of work of this period done at Ravelstoun House (excluded for reasons of space from this discussion) is also of this court style, and done for the Foulis family.

Foulis died 28th May 1633, aged 64. He had (as his Latin epitaph tells) been master of the King's mint, an Edinburgh bailie and 16 years a councillor.<40>

In its form, this monument is slightly different from the others in that the paired flanking columns are not close-spaced but themselves flank niches containing (damaged) sculptured classical figures of a remarkably high quality; thus it has an a.b.a. rhythm, as has the Montgomery monument in the Skelmorlie aisle (infra). Also different - indeed without Scottish parallel, it would appear - is

the form of the capitals, Ionic, with a distinctive treatment of the volutes and with an anthemion detail at the neck. This detail is unique in Scotland, and is presumably taken from a European prototype - possibly Serlio, who illustrates something comparable:<41> though this is by no means certain, and the direct source of the idea is unknown. The principal panel is arched at its centre, as is that on the top stage, in the same way as that on the Bannatyne monument; included in the ornament is a pair of roundels with the heads of Foulis and his wife, Janet Bannatyne. These roundels are not given moulded or wreath-like surrounds in the way that 16th century roundels mostly were, but instead are set in dished panels, plain, but for the strapwork about. This same treatment was given the roundels on the courtyard north wall at Heriots. With the exception of the roundels (which are of orthodox, framed type) from Edinburgh's mercat cross, which was rebuilt in 1617 and is discussed below (the shaft was re-used, and, possibly, the roundels too) I have noted no Scottish-made parallels (the roundels - now at Abbotsford - may have been 16th century, re-set). In the frieze is a pair of consoles of the type noted on the Dennistoun monument and winged cherub masks.

The roundels may have little by way of Scottish parallels, but two other parallels can be pointed to. The first is in Scotland, but on a monument which is evidently an import of the early 17th century, viz the monument in St Mary's Haddington to the Earl of Lauderdale.<42> The other

parallel exists in England. This is in Oxford, at the Canterbury Quadrangle, where roundels set above the columns of the arcade are similarly "dished" and without frames. Colvin has shown that the tradition of the Canterbury Quadrangle being the work of Inigo Jones can be finally discounted. Without knowing who was the designer, Colvin made the point that English court sculptors - Le Sueur, Besnier and Fanelli - were involved, for work at the university where William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, ("the greatest courtier of them all") was Chancellor. The Canterbury Quadrangle was built 1631-6, and it would be no surprise if someone involved with the work at Heriot's visited or otherwise made themselves acquainted with a major collegiate building then erecting in England - though use of these roundels at the Ravelstoun monument in 1636 probably pre-dated their use at Heriots.<43> The Scottish-made examples are heads, slightly tilted, and shoulders, all tightly squeezed into the available space; the Oxford examples are also heads plus shoulders, but presented full frontal, in much deeper relief and in "roomier" spaces, and plain corbels support the underside of the Oxford busts. The point is that the Scots examples are not straight copies, and dissimilarities prevent us judging whether or not the work in the one country directly influenced the work in the other.

An undated (possibly late 18th/early 19th century) drawing of this monument shows detailing not otherwise known to

have existed: that obelisk finials once topped the centre pediment and the outer columns, while cartouches flanked the centre top stage.<44>

Bannatyne

The Bannatyne monument is impressive, its fluted columns set in pairs and a twisted ornament running in opposite directions, a treatment known elsewhere in the period only at the Winton stacks, but its top stage has fallen, lessening for the present the monument's visual impact. The top stage has been set upright in the ground, in front; and its columns are equally distinctive, the twisted decoration simultaneously turning both ways on each column giving a diamond-chequered effect, a detail paralleled at Heriot's, on the aedicule framing the founder's sculpture, and elsewhere seen only at Norie's Lodging in Broad Street Stirling, on what appears to be work of 1671.<45> The arch over the main panel is scrolled at its ends, in precisely the same way as on the main doorway at Heriot's and the chapel door (the Winton chimney piece in the 'King Charles room' has similarly scrolled terminals), while its margin has a repetitive leaf-like detail, like that on the Foulis monument. The strap-worked outer flanking brackets have grotesque masks shown in profile, a detail that is seen again, at Pencaitland.

Thomas Bannatyne died on 16th July, 1635, aged 65, and the monument was set up at the behest of Janet MacMath, his spouse.<46>

Sir Thomas Henryson of Chesters

This Monument was erected on 26th September 1636 by Thomas Henryson, to his family.<47> It differs from the others in that its pedestal stage does not rest on the ground but instead, is carried on large corbels on a decorative and very handsome strap-worked central bracket. Otherwise, the formula is adhered to; it is a frame with plain paired Corinthian columns, centre rectangular tablet surrounded by lots of sculpture, brackets of the type noted at the Dennistoun monument, paired this time, and set at the cornice, helping to support the top stage, in which is framed another elaborate armorial.

Deuchar

Before leaving Greyfriars, one other monument requires notice, that to James Murray of Deuchar, who died in 1649.<48> His epitaph tells that he was descended from the Murrays of Philiphaugh (which means that he was kin to James Murray), he had been presented with the freedom of the city, he had been a successful merchant and had "often won for himself the honour of the magistracy". The

monument is the work of someone familiar with the Murray period court style, but by this time, the fashion for this style was beginning to have run its course. The unsettled years from the early 1640s onwards, with the civil wars and Montrose campaigns, and the Cromwellian occupation, had resulted in fewer building enterprises being taken on, and the political situation suggests that the court link would not carry the same acceptability as before. Thus, the Murray monument is really transitional in its style: the inscription panel makes up almost the entire main stage, there are no flanking pilasters or columns and the top stage is extended in its width to become almost as wide as the stage below. But the technical standard of masonry is as high as ever. The main frieze has arabesques, symmetrical about the centre feature (in this case a ram's head) while the terminals are rosettes on stems, represented in a way suggestive of ironwork (indeed a 17th century wrought-iron gate from Old Arniston house was given similar terminals). On the top stage is a centre armorial, once again, magnificently well executed; a new feature is the panel below, scrolled, but in a different way from before, and incorporating a grotesque mask at its centre, in much the way that Robert Mylne used the idea on his monument to John Mylne, his uncle. Indeed, that fact, combined with the high sculptural quality of the Deuchar monument - indicating the hand of one associated with the court style - suggest that it could well have been by the Mylnes, particularly since John Mylne had by then taken over the management of

works at Heriots, one of the few buildings still being adorned with this high standard of masoncraft (another was Glasgow College). Other points to note are the pilasters - squat, and with a 'necking' like that noted supra at the Baberton pediments, both with drapery suspended from lion masks, and the pilaster bases made very narrow. The outer supporting brackets are, basically, still strap-worked, for each passes through a representation of a metal loop, as on the earlier monuments, but here again the ornament is different for the loops are tiny, and there is now an emphasis more on foliage, and, once again, the design of the supporting brackets on the Mylne monument is not far away. In other words, the Murray/Wallace style was definitely on the way out, but the standard of execution was still as high as ever.

This series of monuments has so much by way of similar constructional formula and of detail, both to one another, as well as to buildings of the mainstream court style, that they evidently emerge from a single school of design. If James Murray was in any measure responsible for this fashion, there was sufficient impetus left for these ideas to carry forward into the later 1630s, after his death in 1634.

* * * *

Only five other funerary monuments are thus far identified as belonging to this court style. The most important by far is that in the Skelmorlie aisle, and next in terms of significance is that to the Earl of Perth in Seton Collegiate church. A third is the Forbes monument at Pencaitland, and a fourth is at Newbattle, in memory of a child of the Murray of Blackbarony family, who died in 1641. Lastly, there is a minor example at Tranent. Space does not permit discussion of these, but some visual comparisons are shown in the plates.

Footnotes

1. Cruden, Scottish Medieval Churches, p.167. See, for instance, the Melrose SW range.
2. Exceptionally, some few aisles are still maintained by their families, as at Durisdeer.
3. Ian B. Cowan, ed., Blast and Counterblast: contemporary writings on the Scottish Reformation (Edinburgh: Saltire Society, 1960), p.25
4. For instance, the conversion scheme is yet evident at Melrose.
5. For a brief, up-to-date resume, see M. Lynch Scotland, a New History, ch.12, which charts out the complexities such as the 'second' Reformation in 1567, peace settling only in 1573. Note also the role of Andrew Melville 'a scholar with an international reputation', in the establishment of presbyterianism (ibid., p.228, etc.); also, Michael Lynch, 'Calvinism in Scotland, 1559-1638', in ed. Prestwich, International Calvinism 1541-1715 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895), ch.VIII
6. Resolved by the Treaty of Edinburgh: see Scottish

Historical Documents, pp.120-4

7. Despite the popular image, Knox's claim to major intellectual significance is strong.

8. Cowan, Blast and Counterblast, pp.30-3; Scottish Historical Documents, pp.130-1

9. David MacRoberts, 'Material Destruction caused by the Scottish Reformation', Innes Review, vol.X, no.1 (1959), pp.126-172

10. This same paradox - the display of wealth together with professions of humility - is what is seen in the statement of a nobleman's humility when affixed to a palace, such as Pinkie.

11. Scottish Historical Documents, pp.160-1

12. From the outset, and still to-day, there was a feeling that communion should be held more frequently, though in practice, in rural kirks it was commonly held annually.

13. Long communion tables did not come into fashion until the 18th century.

14. The - altered - South Queensferry kirk may provide another alternative: with doors on both flanks, though this arrangement is unlikely to have been particularly unusual.

15. I G Lindsay, The Scottish Parish Kirk, p.39

16. This interpretation suggested in A. MacKechnie, ed., David Hamilton, Architect, 1768-1843: Father of the Profession (Glasgow, 1993), p.15

17. Fife, p.110. The kirk is dated 1592.

18. RCAHM, Inventory of East Lothian, p.180

19. Fife, p.257

20. Master Masons, p.110

21. Whyte, 'The Setting of Worship', Studies in the History of Worship in Scotland, p.149

22. Edinburgh, pp.172-5

23. Sonia Hackett and Neil Livingston, 'Scottish Parliamentary Churches and their Manses', in ed. Breeze, Studies in Scottish Antiquity, fig.138. The type was in the 18th century superseded by a box-like rectangular-plan kirk type, early aisled examples of which exist at Dumfries, Glasgow and Fort George.

24. DNB, XVIII, pp.820-3

25. John Row, The Historie of the Kirk of Scotland (Edinburgh, Maitland Club, 1842), Vol. I, p.113; N.E. McLure (ed.), The Letters of John Chamberlain (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1939), vol. II, p.82 [One of the guard who died during James' 1617 visit was buried 'after the English manner', and the Dean of Powles (Valentine Cary), officiating, was forced to 'retract...openly' some of his words; Dr Laud was criticised for wearing a surplice, and the Dean of the Chapel Royal refused to take communion kneeling.]
26. Edinburgh, pp.152-5. The above-mentioned Hepburn aisle (1581) might be properly regarded as another.
27. Fife, p.169
28. A MacKechnie, 'Dairsie Kirk', in Royal Archaeological Institute: The St Andrews Area (Proceedings of the 137th Summer Meeting, 1991) pp.41-2
29. Dunkeld is an exception to this general rule, where the tower is on the NW corner.
30. Glasgow Recs., 1573-1642, p.352; the steeple was ordered to be 'hightit in the most best and commodious forme can be devysit be the best craftismen...' [p.373]; ibid., 1630-1662, p.504 ['to Johne Boyd in bounteith for the building of the stiple in Trongait...xl li.]; Glasgow, p.158.
31. G Hay, The Architecture of Scottish Post-Reformation Churches, 1957, pl 3b.
32. The economic significance of Edinburgh and its 'elite' is the basis of the thesis by James Brown, Edinburgh Elite.
33. The triumphal arch is another feature which was to be fundamental in the tradition, from James IV's Stirling Forework Gate onwards.
34. Epitaphs, pp.8-9
35. Monumental Inscriptions, p.11
36. Epitaphs, p.22; Edinburgh Elite, II, pp.451-2
37. Edinburgh, p.159
38. Cast. & Dom., V, pp.560-1
39. The Architecture of the Scottish Renaissance, fig.20
40. Epitaphs, pp.23-4;
41. Serlio, Book IV, p.160
42. Lothian, p.235

43. Colvin, 'The Canterbury Quadrangle, St. John's College, Oxford', Inigo Jones and the Spread of Classicism (Papers given at the Georgian group symposium, 1986; pub.1987), fig.1

44. NMRS, EDD 2/25

45. Charles McKean, Stirling and the Trossachs (Edinburgh: RIAS, 1985), p.27

46. Monumental Inscriptions, p.24; see also Brown, Edinburgh Elite, II, pp.447-8

47. ibid., II, p.503; Monumental Inscriptions, pp.25-6

48. Brown, Edinburgh Elite, II, p.503

* * *

CHAPTER 13: GARDENS

It is difficult to form an impression of what 16th century Scottish gardens were like, though Pont's manuscript maps makes it clear that they existed in close relation to the houses which he represented. On Blaeu's maps of 1635, based on Pont's work,<1> many houses (particularly in the Lothians) are shown as fenced or otherwise enclosed, their policies defined and usually wooded. We know too that there were Royal gardens, such as that of James IV at Stirling,<2> and doubtless his choice of fashion in this would have been taken on by many others, in the same way that elements of the architecture of his and of James V's time were reproduced by others (eg the shape of the Rothesay gatehouse armorial frame was reproduced at Stalker & Craigmillar). In Murray's period, there are, as previously, references to people whose occupation was that of 'gardener'.<3>

But in Murray's period, gardens may have taken on a slightly different prominence: firstly, as a place for pleasure to judge by the introduction (or, at least, survival) of a series of garden ornaments, often very sculptural and architectural; and secondly, as a place for demonstration of the sciences, to judge from the number of complex sundials - and pointing too to a uniquely Scottish aspect to 17th century gardens, a fact which becomes the more interesting when we recall that elements of the architecture (eg buckle quoins) appear also to be

distinctively Scots.

How far the pleasure garden or designed landscape co-existed with the walled kitchen garden is unclear. The latter are usually assigned an 18th-19th century date, but the stonework at, eg, the Ravelrig walled garden, or that beside Borthwick, has a sufficiently ancient appearance for a 17th century origin to be believable. But the popularity of pleasure gardens in this Murray period is quite evident.

An inscription at Pinkie indicates the essential unity between house and garden,

For his own benefit, for the benefit of his descendants, and for the benefit of all good, humane and cultured men, Alexander Seton, a devout lover of all culture and humanity, founded, erected and adorned his country seat, the gardens and these suburban buildings...for the gracious welcome and hospitable entertainment of guests, a fountain of pure water, lawns, ponds and aviaries...<4>

In having a "fountain..., lawns, ponds...", Pinkie was (as will be seen) by no means unique (though aviaries may have been much more unusual).<5>

Something of the content of pleasure or walled gardens associated with country houses is known to us: for example, in his complaint to the Privy Council about destruction made at his orchard at Muirhouse in 1622, Sir James Somerville of Cambusnethan complains of felled apple, pear, plum, ash and plane trees.<6> Similarly, on 4th November 1617, Sir Gideon Murray complained of damage

at Ballencrieff by three men who had "broke down the dykes (proof that walled gardens existed, and possibly an indication that garden dykes were lock-fast), and "not onlie staw and awaytook ane grite number of the beste fruite of all kyndis" but also "broke, cut, and destroyed a number of the trees".<7>

Bowling greens evidently existed too within the period: eg, that at Cowane's Hospital is still seen to-day, whilst in the context of country houses, they were also known, for instance at Sanquhar, and 'The Bonnie Hoose o Airlie', the latter of which has been shown to relate to events of 1640.<8> One version tells of Argyll hunting the Lady's dowry,

Till they fand it in the fair plum-tree
That shines on the bowling-green of Airlie.<9>

There is no reason to imagine that Airlie was unique among houses of the pre-civil wars period in having a bowling green, while the existence of a "fair plum-tree", similarly, is no surprise for this date.

Also at Sanquhar, to west of the castle, lay the gardens, "where the remains of a fish pond, with a square island...[were in or before 1828]...still visible".<10> This work must surely pre-date significantly the decision to reconstruct Drumlanrig as the first Earl of Queensberry's principal residence (begun circa 1676); and a 16th-early 17th century date seems likely.<11> The pond

at Craigmillar (seen, perhaps slightly fancifully, as 'P'-shaped) also testifies to the existence of water features in the Renaissance period, but as yet, no such garden feature is linked with Murray.

As is seen from study of the architecture, a shared repertoire of ideas or details existed not only in the design of architectural garden structures, but also in terms of the non-architectural elements (eg, terraced gardens). Similarly, as was seen in the co-existence in architecture of a 'horizontalising' national tradition and a 'monumentalising', so there appear to be (at least) two opposing traditions co-existing in the area of garden design. Thus, we find;

a)The use of focus on a distant object, and

b)the opposite, ie the use of an unfocussed, open, wide view.

The implication may again be that as with the architecture, there is room in what must have been a flourishing national tradition for mutually contradictory ideas, existing in harmony.

1 Focus

We have already noted the use, or possible use, at Staneyhill and Balcaskie of the use of alignment, or vistas (the buckle-quoined Redbraes may be another example). At two of these, the alignment of the later/18th century house nearby replicates that of the 17th century one, whilst Balcaskie simply exploits the pre-existing vista in the enlargement to the house. Prestonfield House is noticed above as being of uncertain date, as its buckle quoins indicate a date of the 1620s-30s, whilst it is known to have been reconstructed in the 1680s: though the latter work evidently incorporated work of the previous building, and therefore kept the alignment. Its south flank - and, consequently, some of its public rooms - is aligned upon Craigmillar Castle, demonstrating an interest not only in use of vista, but in the idea of 'antique' architecture as comprising important artefacts that could add interest to, or perhaps 'beautify', a landscape. The important point as regards this study is the fact that the alignment given a house in the Murray period might focus upon an ancient building: an idea which the 'British' histories ascribe to the 'Picturesque' of the 18th century.<12>

In the urban context, the placing of the Edinburgh palace block (ie facing down the Royal Mile) also relates to this way of thinking about 'focus', as does the placing of the tower on the Glasgow tolbooth, a terminus to both the High Street and to the Saltmarket. Possibly the location of the Lochmaben tolbooth (its site, as discussed, chosen by

Murray), cross-ways at the wider end of a town funnel-shaped on plan (like Lanark, and others) might also be seen in this regard.

2 Unfocussed

It seems likely that some of the parallel-terraced or hanging gardens of the 17th century were built in this period, though the idea may be earlier - eg, that at Airth may relate in date to the 16th century work at the house.<13> 17th century examples are numerous - eg Biel, Dalziel, Leslie - but few are closely dated. They were popular in the Restoration period; eg that at Leslie, which in its present form most likely dates from the 1660s/70s reconstruction of the house; unlikely to have been regarded as a novelty, for it was probably carrying on an established tradition. But the fact that buildings were often anyway constructed on sites which fell away on the south (as at Airth Castle) may indicate that some of these structures date from the high, or possibly early, Renaissance period - indeed, if Winton was (as one tradition has it) built anew c1600 then that maybe takes the garden back to then. As the architecture of the date of Leslie (1660s) shows no evidence of having yet progressed far beyond that of Murray's period, Bruce having thus far had little direct effect, it is tempting to suggest that garden design too had progressed by an equal amount. More research is required. But the Winton

terraces are apparently 17th century (if repaired in more recent years), unlikely to be later than the (?re)building of the house in the 1620s. As noted above, this appears also to be the type of garden created at Falkland in 1622-3,<14> which helps relate the fashion to Murray's period, although it is not suggested that the idea originated then.

There emerged a pattern: a house set on an eminence with the ground falling away on one side - usually the south - with usually two or more parallel terraces (Culross Abbey House may have had only one from the outset, as shown on Slezer's view), a river beyond; cf Winton, Biel, Leslie, Dalziel (no river), Barncluith (no plain). The idea was in part to present an already-monumental house elevation as arising from a tiered underbuilding; there is too a similarity between these houses and the western view of Stirling Castle where it rises abruptly from the flat plain; the latter plain, moulded by a garden, as was formerly seen (possibly later than Murray's period) at Airth and Leslie.

Garden Buildings

The common garden buildings were principally sundials, though fountains, gateways and well-heads also exist, possibly testifying to there having been many more such structures now gone (the Pinkie aviary is long-gone,

without visual record).

Moray House: Garden House and Gateway

Moray House is unique in preserving from this period both a garden summerhouse and a garden gateway within the built up area of the original town house garden. The summerhouse has a major historic interest in its own right if the tradition is correct that some signatories to the Act of Union appended their signatures to that document within its walls. It is a rectangular structure with round-arched openings, spaced 3 x 1 bays, its quoins and dressings all raised and square channelled blocks, alternate stones with pointed ends. Stored inside (1993) are lion and unicorn finials which were originally set over the angles. It is not immediately apparent that this structure is coeval with the house (possibly because few early examples of this class of architecture exist), though a glance suggests a 17th century date as probable. 1620s-30s type plaster ornament on the ceiling, which might have settled the matter, is said to have been copied from the house and installed much later.<15> A parallel in terms of detail is the treatment of the Pinkie House gatepiers, whose quoins are all square and channelled (and these piers are discussed below). Another - slightly coarser - example is on the Drummond of Hawthornden aisle at Lasswade (date unknown, but used for William Drummond in 1649), a late-looking and corrupt example of this

style. The point is that a suggested date of about the 1620s-30s for the Moray House garden house seems, on consideration and by analogy with the last 2 buildings, to be acceptable, despite its lacking strapworked ornament like that of the house and garden gate.<16>

The Moray House garden gateway has been already referred to in connection with Winton, as the design of both its frieze ornament and its strap-worked pediment are paralleled there. The chief difference between the Winton pediment cited above for comparison, and that on the garden gateway, is that the latter is open-worked, silhouetted like tracery (the ornament repeated on both faces), in the process emphasising the elegance of the design and the sculpture. This is high-quality work.<17> Pilasters support the entablature, and the now familiar beading is run horizontally a little below, delineating the frieze. The ornament is identical on both sides. There is little to suggest where the gate stood originally, though on Rothiemay's map (1647), at Heriot's, 2 gateways are shown to the north, on the path leading directly towards the Grassmarket, so perhaps at Moray House the gate was intended to serve a similar purpose, close, this time, to the Cowgate.

Sundials

Sundials in Scotland have been considered and described by MacGibbon & Ross,<18> and more recently by Andrew

Somerville and Stevenson.<19> One point which emerges from the last-mentioned study is that they were more popular by far in this, than in any other country, with free-standing examples installed in possibly most country house gardens in the 17th century. I will not attempt to pursue here why they were so popular here; whether it was simply the whim of fashion (however unlikely that would be) or what other reason there was for their popularity is difficult to judge. Instead, this study will consider only the art-historical angle. Because several of the earlier - and grander - dials (specifically: Dundas, Kilbaberton, Newbattle, Pinkie) can be firmly linked to the Murray period court style, the question arises of there being a possible connection (as yet unexplained) between Murray and the court architecture on the one hand, and sundials on the other; but no final answer presents itself.

Baberton

Beginning with that at Baberton, which (judging from its appearance, and context) was presumably installed by Murray, himself: it is (relatively) small and squat, a square baluster shaft with high-relief strapwork ornament, its pattern close to that seen on the square columns of the Skelmorlie monument, and including a distinctive scroll detail (like the capital letter "C") seen also at, say the Moray House balcony brackets but more closely paralleled at Edinburgh on the panel enrichments on the

palace east front; the shaft is now set on a later base: indeed the capping stone which is cut for a circular bronze dial also appears to be 19th century, and so the question arises of whether this baluster was originally intended as a sundial pedestal or whether it was originally a component of a larger structure like, say, the Dundas well-head. But its scale and proportion make that seem quite unlikely. Whatever its original purpose - and a sundial pedestal remains the most likely one - , it does not seem to have been built on to the house and must therefore have been a garden structure, which points to the existence, from Murray's time, of a pleasure or, if such a thing existed, a scientific garden.

Pinkie: sundial

Pinkie House was noted above as an example of the court style, phase I, but associated structures are of phase II, and while none are dated, they must, on stylistic as well as on contextual grounds, be assigned a date approximately co-eval with the house, or perhaps the 1620s or 30s. Set above the garden wall is a square dial with a tall obelisk finial dateable to this period; it is raised on 4 balls at the corners sculptured on its faces or with raised shapes, in the same way as the obelisks at the well-head and gatepiers, both discussed infra.

Newbattle

An obelisk similar to the above-mentioned Pinkie example is set over each of the identical pair of free-standing sundials at Newbattle, this time with the original spiked globe finial, lost on some more weathered examples of this finial type. These sundials date from 1635. They are, therefore, perhaps less likely to have been designed by Murray (d. 1634), though they build on the ideas of his time. They are very sculptural and rich, complex in form, and polygonal on plan. Elements besides the finial detail links them to the court style. Each structure is composed of a block raised high, with a stepped base, a pedestal, its shaft with "griffins", reminiscent of the supporters of the chimney pieces at Linlithgow and Argyll lodging; dials with twirly-bearded profile heads compare with one seen on Mylne's Holyrood dial of 1633, while the sculptured faces on the brackets of the shaft recall similar sculptured faces on, eg, the Foulis of Ravelstoun monument at Greyfriars.

Dundas

The sundial at Dundas differs from the above examples in that it is part of a larger architectural composition which combines sundial and fountain. It is dated 1623. Together with the Pinkie well-head and the fountain at Ravelston it is one of only 3 Scottish garden structures

of the period to survive which use water as an ornamental feature, despite the popularity of garden water features in mainstream European Renaissance gardens. And although James V's fountain at Holyrood pre-dates this example by close to a century, this example is one of the earliest in the country of this component of the renaissance garden. Its form is a rectangular platform raised on a pedestal, basins on the side walls at intervals, balusters above each, an arched flight of steps leading up to the platform deck on which is set the sundial. The sundial is one of the 2 earliest examples of a lectern-shaped dial. The dial's own pedestal has a series of griffins, like those at the Newbattle dials, each this time overlaid with an acanthus leaf, recalling again the Linlithgow and Argyll Lodging chimney-pieces, though here the treatment is not identical. The fountain has on its surface a strapwork ornament similar to that seen on the Baberton dial while the blocks where the frieze breaks forward over the balusters are decorated with guttae without triglyphs - a distinctive Mannerist detail - seen in this country at both the Pinkie Well-head and the Skelmorlie monument.

Pinkie: well-head and gatepiers

Returning to Pinkie, the most prominent early structure, besides the house, is the well-head, which is set in the courtyard close to the main entrance door.

Free-standing, it is like the funerary monuments discussed below in the composition of its 4 near-identical faces, being similarly elaborate and sculptural, its faces with a centre arch, flanking columns, pedestals; but instead of a flat mural structure like the monuments, it is a hollow square on plan, built about the well, and with a crown spire, pinnacles over the angles. In the latter half 15th-early 16th centuries, the steeples of St Giles', Linlithgow, King's College, St Mary's Haddington, Dundee were all given, or prepared to be fitted, Imperial Crown spires. As with the arched royal crown the Imperial symbolism was that the king had Imperial status within his own realm. The idea was revived in this post-1603 period, as it was used at Pinkie, and at the Glasgow Tolbooth - which was carefully imitative of the court style, in its use of buckle quoins, strap-worked pediments and parapetted flat roof. The profusion of roof finials at Holyrood is noted above, and the crown finials formerly set over the turret roofs were ideas evidently at the least approved by - if not designed by - Murray. Gordon of Rothiemay's bird's eye view of Edinburgh in 1647 anticipated a crown spire over the entrance tower of Heriots.

But why revive the idea? Conceivably it was suggested by the overhaul of the St Giles Steeple in 1619. Some stonework of the latter looks much less weathered than that of the medieval tower, maybe indicating it to be basically a 17th century rebuild. Work on such a scale

would surely have engendered interest in the idea of a crown spire? Coincidentally, the King's College crown spire was repaired in 1633-4, having suffered serious storm damage in 1633.<20> Might this not equally have re-introduced the idea to the mainstream? Surely, however, a reason rather more intellectual, rather than a random notion, lay behind selection of this feature for modern usage? Perhaps the collegiate association of the King's College spire suggested the same treatment for Heriot's? But that would explain its usage in only one case. Ultimately, we cannot say, but the revived usage might be interpreted as a recognition that the Scots monarchy, now 'British', had a hugely enhanced status, and the existence of crown spires in towns already validated use of the feature as a means of commemorating this 'new age' monarchy: a visual symbol of submission to royal authority (and, in return, possibly a simultaneous plea by and on behalf of a loyal people not to be neglected by the monarch).

A stone at King's bearing the inscription "GE:[orge] Thomson Architect" appears to relate to reconstruction of the spire, as does another stone bearing the date 1634.<21> It is unknown how much of the early work was retained, and what reconstructed, though the lantern with crownlet has a very strong renaissance look about it (which would of course be no great surprise for the James IV period), but may be new build of 1633-4. The Pinkie crown appears to have acanthus leafs for crockets, like

caterpillars climbing up its arms - almost exactly like those on the King's College crownlet (and, indeed, the royal crown) - and at its top, supporting a vase, a squat and octagonal baluster with acanthus leafs growing about its base, the same motif which in only slightly-altered form is the shaft of the Mylnes' Holyrood sundial of 1633. Each face of the well-head (while each is treated near-identically) is essentially an aedicular frame, and the similarity in the basic formula to the Greyfriars monument has been noted already; a round-headed centre (reproducing even the thin-ribbed coffering of the Byres monument soffit), decorated spandrels, scrolled keystone, the frieze set forward at the centre and ends, and a lesser top stage, here set within the ribs of the crown. Panelled pilasters flanking the arch are not this time set behind columns, for, as this structure is square-plan, the columns are set forward at the angles, ie each column to serve 2 faces rather than one (unless the columns were recessed at the angles instead of set forward, any alternative arrangement would have been a lot pricier as well as trickier to handle). This arrangement gives the structure an appearance like a single upper stage of a contemporary Low Countries church steeple, such as the Zuiderkerk(1614) or the Westerkerk, Amsterdam both by de Keyser;<22> the idea was picked up later, eg by Wren at St. Bride's, Fleet Street, London. Guttae without triglyphs are seen here again, and where there are triglyphs (ie on the block over each column) the ornament is not V-channelled but is instead raised, in

characteristic Scots manner. Pinnacles over the angles are like those noted above at the sundial and they too have raised geometric shapes.

Similarly, the pinnacles over the gatepiers of the main driveway. These piers have been reconstructed, as the use of some horizontally-droved stonework shows (a stone treatment which appears not to pre-date the mid 18th century), and the fluted frieze is also unknown in the earlier 17th century, but the general form of the piers is reminiscent of the Staneyhill piers noted infra, and, as already discussed, the channelled square blocks at their corners recall those on the Moray House garden house. The moulded string below the eaves level is here again seen.

Staneyhill Gatepiers

The Staneyhill piers are set several hundred yards to the east of the house on direct alignment with the house east (entrance) front, and are linked by a (now fragmentary) avenue. The piers themselves are square and massive, with giant obelisks of a scale comparable with those at Moray House, but here ornamented with narrow pilaster strips, moulded bases and globe finials. They are square and, like the Pinkie piers, channelled, but on the centre of each a raised pilaster strip, whereas the Pinkie piers have recessed centre panels; ie a simple reversal of the same treatment. The concept is similar, while the idea of

raised pilasters overlapping channelling is close conceptually to the doorway treatment described below, eg at Parliament House. Again at Staneyhill, the curved-profile beading at the frieze level. If the gates are contemporary, as they appear to be, then they must rank as being among the earliest surviving examples of architectural ironwork in the country. Each gate (there are 2) is roughly square, made with plain vertical rails with floralesque finials.

Moray House: gatepiers

Finally, on the subject of gatepiers, there are those at Moray House, arguably the most stunning of them all. Complex on plan (if simple in profile), basically square, curved outwards at the centre where the gates hang, their only carved ornament is their base moulding, cornice and standard frieze-level beading, but the finials are very dramatic, set diagonally on plan, 4 absolutely unornamented sheer and tall faces diminishing to sharp spiked tops. .

Footnotes

1. Royal Scottish Geographical Society, The Early Maps of Scotland to 1850, vol. I (Edinburgh, 1973), p.169

2. TA, IV (1507-13), pp.101, 106

3. For instance, in 1618, Patrick Cochrane was gardener at Granton - not one of the greatest houses of the period {RPC, XI, p.401}. Much earlier, James V had a French gardener {Accounts, I, p.191}.

4. quoted in Forman, Scottish Country Houses and Castles, p.61

5. The Pinkie aviaries were no innovation, for James V had 'averyhoussis' at Holyrood and Falkland (possibly for hawks); see Accounts, I, pp.96 & 112.

6. RPC, XII, p.750

7. ibid., XI, p.254 (Thomas Carrington was charged with similar crimes on the 20th following - ibid., p.265)

8. J. Nichols, Progresses, III, p.386n; Purser, Scotland's Music, pp.147-8

9. A Second book of Poetry, English and Scottish (Glasgow: Robert Gibson and Sons), p38. In another version of the song, Argyll ravished the Lady Ogilvie on the bowling green of Airlie for not yielding to him.{Scotland's Music, BBC Broadcast, 22nd December, 1991}

10. J Nichols, Progresses, III, p.386n

11. Inventory of Dumfries, pp.190-1

12. Colvin, Biographical Dictionary, p.153. Here, he assigns to Bruce a role in the prehistory of the Picturesque, overlooking the fact that Bruce found a pre-existing alignment at Balcaskie. Was Bruce's alignment at Kinross upon an ancient building simply reproducing the arrangement created most likely in Murray's period, at Prestonfield?

13. Inventory of Stirlingshire, I, pp.230-37. The top level of the terrace appears to have extended a distance to the west, like a miniature version of St. Germain's.

14. Accounts, II, p.142

15. C B B Watson, Some notes on Moray House Edinburgh (privately printed, 1915), p.7

16. A parallel of sorts to the quoin detail may be found much earlier at the entrance to Jamie Saxt's birthplace, the doorway dating from 1566, and likely to have been designed by the then Master of Works, Sir William MacDowell {Accounts, I, xxvii}. There, the doorway is again round-arched, with channelled dressings, this time with a surface rustication also, but each stone with a pointed end.

17. The significance of this gateway has been hitherto

overlooked.

18. Cast & Dom, V, pp.357-514

19. A R Somerville, 'The Ancient Sundials of Scotland'
PSAS, 117 (1987), pp.233-264

20. William Kelly. A tribute offered by the University of
Aberdeen (Aberdeen University Press, 1949), pp.71-2

21. ibid., p.71

22. Kuyper, Dutch Classicist Architecture, pls.25, 124A

CHAPTER 14: PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE (NON-ECCLESIASTICAL)

Urban Planning

A close link exists between public architecture and urban planning, and the question arises of how far town planning as an issue featured in Murray's time; or more specifically, in his architecture.

It has been noted how the reconstructed palace block at Edinburgh was arranged in such a way as to be on a direct vista up the 'Royal Mile', its placing evidently associated with ideas about town planning. The same idea emerged in the next decade at Glasgow, where the Tolbooth steeple was placed on the line of the High Street/Saltmarket, providing a terminus in the streetscape.

Parliament House of the 1630s also demonstrates an interest in town planning. Its site was carefully chosen, requiring demolition of existing buildings, and it was made a splay-plan about a paved open square, the first such square in the city. Similarly, the position of the Lochmaben tolbooth indicates an interest in exploiting an urban setting, giving a public building a 'presence', and thereby enhancing the appearance of the town.

The Scots colony of Nova Scotia, promoted by Sir William Alexander especially after 1624, whose son William went

there to assist its foundation evidently required buildings to be made, and a fort. Given Alexander's status and links with the mastership of works, it would hardly come as a surprise were it to emerge that the latter provided advice for the new works at Port Royall.<1>

* * *

Public architecture

Within this class, 3 buildings, on account of their colossal scale and wealth of ornament, stand apart as being particularly major works: viz Glasgow College, Heriot's Hospital - both consciously collegiate, with cloistered courts - and Parliament House. The first was demolished in the 1880s, while the last - which is documented as Murray's design - was drastically remodelled early in the 19th century. Only Heriot's therefore survives, and, fortunately, in near-perfect condition. It is also one of the buildings most informative about the court style, having a wide repertoire of ornament, and it is certainly the best known of the three. Having begun building in the 1620s, it dates from the period when the style was in full flourish, while Glasgow College was two stages removed, having been built a) in the west, where the style took on a slightly different character, and b) after the style was in its latter stages, or in decline. A fourth building which should be noticed at the outset is the Glasgow tolbooth, a

'Glasgow'-type building (ie the detailing is not mainstream, of the Court style of the Lothians), whose treatment is consciously attempting - with a good measure of success - to be up-to-date. Also significant - though less than might have been, as the building has long-gone - was the Lochmaben tolbooth: the second public building having a documented link with Murray.

George Heriot's Hospital

Heriot's was funded by the legacy of George Heriot, who had been jeweller to King James VI and to Queen Anne. Heriot had moved to England with the royal court, and his family, also favoured, appear to have been gifted privileges, one nephew becoming Dean of Rochester. It was he who was despatched to this country to oversee commencement of building operations.

George Heriot died in 1624, and his legacy amounted to £23,625 sterling (ie English currency) to be used for provision and endowment of a "hospital", ie a charity school, for children of poor burgesses.<2> The site originally intended, at the foot of Gray's close, was quickly seen to be inappropriate, and the present site acquired. We learn from authorities such as Howard that

the new building was to 'conforme to ye paterne and prescript maid be ye said Deane of Rotchester...'^{<3>}

But this was on 22nd June 1627: before the final site was decided upon, the original choice of site having proved insufficiently large or open. Therefore, there seems no reason to believe that the plan ultimately adopted was the same one as that referred to in this entry. For there is no doubt that as built, the architecture of Heriot's is straightforward Scots.

It has been observed that the executed plan of Heriots has affinities with a published design, contained in the 7th book of architecture by the Italian Sebastian Serlio.<4> The design in question has square corner towers linked by lower ranges, and arcaded courtyard elevations. That design may or may not have been an immediate source for Heriots, and the fact of the matter may never be known. The argument for its being such is not insubstantial, as there is evidence of the use of pattern books in some of the detailing of Heriots, certainly at the refectory door, clearly a version of a design by Vignola.<5> Serlio's books and the patterns which they contained must have been familiar to many Scots masons/architects at this time. But many would have been familiar too with the Fyvie Castle remodelling of the 1590s, (supra) which was also quadrangular in plan with tall square angle towers linked by recessed and (probably) lower ranges.<6> Similarly, the 1608-18 plans for remodelling Drumlanrig (actually, it appears, carried out to some degree),<7> to produce a symmetrical quadrangle with corner towers, stair towers in the angles (as subsequently built at Heriots). No less

significant, in terms of national prototypes, was the royal palace at Linlithgow, also a (near-)symmetrical quadrangular-plan, with taller corner towers, a plan-form subsequently chosen for the French palace of Ancy-le-Franc. The creation of a building of this plan had thus already been done in Scotland a generation earlier, on a house built for the Earl of Dunfermline, whilst Linlithgow was enclosed as a quadrangle by James IV's time. As the idea, then, was no novelty, the proposition that the Serlio plan served as a prototype is not here seen as in the slightest compelling.

Part of the attraction of the "Serlio plan" argument is the apparent novelty of the Heriot's design, but as now seen by the above - and evidently unknown, or unrecognised by Summerson, or he would surely have registered their significance - two recently-built prototypes already existed, which might well have been worked on by some of the same people (such as, for instance, Murray himself). The formula is too simple and far from novel, and the whole-hearted acceptance of the 'Serlio' thesis implies the belief that the idea of a corner-towered quadrangle might not in this country have been conceived in the 1620s but for external sources. This named pattern may well have been one of a host of ideas considered, but to describe Heriot's as a modified copy of that pattern seems rather too bold, and was made evidently in ignorance of the above. Besides, it hardly matters.

A tradition - which last century became a debate - that the architect of Heriot's was Inigo Jones merits note. As Murray's counterpart in England, Jones was certainly active in the royal works in England throughout the 1620s, with eg Somerset House (1626-38) occupying much of his time, and through his association with the court, he most likely knew or at least knew of Heriot.<8> There would therefore have been an option for Balcanquhall to have consulted with Jones. Perhaps he did. But there is nothing to suggest that Balcanquhall - or indeed anyone else - would have rated Jones any higher than he did the leading Scottish architects, and there is no reason to suspect that someone like Murray would have felt it necessary or even desirable that Jones should be consulted. Of the two, Murray was evidently the older man, and given the course of architectural development in this country, there is no evidence of Jones having had the slightest influence here: indeed, quite the contrary, given the early date of Culross Abbey House. To imagine a Jones involvement here would be

(a) slightly anachronistic, in the sense that the reverential tones reserved for him, and the gushing praise, appears to begin only after his death, with Webb's publications; and

(b) inferiorist, as there is nothing to suggest that a man of the calibre of Murray would have thought for a moment that for an undertaking of such significance he had best

consult with his junior English counterpart: for that mentality is very much a post-parliamentary-union one. Self-confident in its own architectural tradition, it most likely never for a moment struck anyone in Edinburgh that Jones should be looked to, or that his advice would be worth having.

Whatever did happen, there can be no doubt that Heriot's is a mainstream Scots work of the contemporary court style, closely related to the other buildings discussed in this thesis rather than to any of Jones' contemporary work in England. If Jones did influence the design in any way that was to come through in the design, then what that would show is that the king's masons/architects in the different countries had meaningful contact with one another; though to judge from the work of Murray and of Jones, the latter would have thought Murray's work to be old-fashioned Mannerism, while Murray would have perhaps felt that Jones' unadorned elevations were in turn old-fashioned, following upon the unadorned elevations of perhaps 20-40 years earlier at Culross, Duntarvie, (probably) Berwick and (possibly) Floors.<9>

Returning to Heriot's, the foundation stone was laid on 1st July 1628 and the master mason was William Wallace: whose payment was £6 per week plus £100 yearly - that is, the same as he got in the royal works.<10> A fantastically ambitious project, it was a long time in building. When

Wallace died in 1631, work seems to have by then reached 1st floor level, and building was continued under William Ayton with John Watt (d.1642), but not without interruption: being first interrupted in 1639, ie only months after the Edinburgh business community had entered the period of financial stress, the political situation looking grim.<11> In 1659, 30 boys took up residence, though building continued up till the end of the century, with Robert Mylne, Sir William Bruce and James Smith all involved at some time or other.<12> But it was essentially entire long before then and was finished no doubt much as was originally intended; the centre tower was contracted for by Ayton in 1644, though left incomplete until late in the 17th century when it was finished by Robert Mylne to what was almost certainly a modernised plan: arguably, Scotland's first Classical dome.

Four square corner towers linked by recessed ranges, and a centre entrance tower on the north front, facing the city. (That elevation - and the courtyard - ashlar-faced, as was the corresponding front on the palace block at Edinburgh Castle.) The basic formula had been seen previously at Fyvie (built in the 1590s, and of the Schaw period court style) and was used subsequently at Drumlanrig (though it is unclear how much Drumlanrig already resembled this formula prior to James Smith's remodelling in the 1670s-80s); unlike Fyvie (though similar to Linlithgow), Heriot's had stair turrets (in the case of Heriot's, these

were polygonal) set in the internal, ie courtyard, angles. Also, Heriots had giant leaded ogee domes over the 4 corner towers which were removed in the 17th century for structural reasons. Apart from their loss, the building is, externally almost exactly as originally built - except, that the east, west and south faces were encased in narrow-coursed ashlar by William Playfair, and the glazing pattern is now Georgian. Fantastically ornate, it has been frequently alluded to in the text as it has almost the full repertoire of ornament - buckle quoins, strapwork pediments, aedicules, mouldings, stacks, all as already noted.

The treatment of the entrance is comparable with the formula of the Greyfriars monuments; an archway (almost semi-circular, but segmental, conveying a feeling of mass, and of width) paired flanking columns sharing single pedestals, a lesser top stage. Gordon of Rothiemay's two drawings anticipated firstly, a crown spire, and secondly a steep Gothic spire over the centre entrance.<13> The latter design is just as Gordon anticipated for the Tron kirk: and illustrates the acceptance of the neo-Gothic, reinforced in Edinburgh, for instance, with the neo-Gothic steeple and spire (topmost openings of the former are pointed) given the Magdalen chapel in 1620, after consultation (or proposed consultation, at least) in 1618 with Murray.<14> The crown spire, a form whose revival is discussed above, could, however, equally have been intended at the outset of building, as a crown was, as

noted above, given to the Pinkie well-head, and the Glasgow tolbooth. But once again, the crown spire might also have been regarded as Gothic - or neo-Gothic.

Finally, in relating Heriot's to the royal works, the other obvious similarity is in construction of the external flank elevations: where a semi-octagonal half-projecting stair turret is placed central, the fenestration of the main facade reduced in scale on the single bay either side of this stair turret, in precisely the same way as was done by Murray at Linlithgow.

* * *

Glasgow College

Much of the documentation regarding the erection of Glasgow College has been preserved, and a substantial amount published last century, sufficient for us to deduce the salient facts.<15>

The Old College comprised two linked quadrangles, sharing a 'quarter' in common (ie the wing placed central on plan), the quadrangles linked by a pend over which was a tall steeple.<16> The idea of a steeple as 'passage' architecture was already part of the national mainstream, as seen by Edinburgh's Netherbow Port, and as later seen in stables courts of country houses. Indeed, the Heriot's

entrance bay is really a steeple. The greater part of the college was built in stages over about three decades, and involved some replacement/demolition of pre-existing ranges. So while the College buildings are compared below with Heriot's, an important difference to note is that whilst the latter was conceived as a single building, new-build on a fresh site, and unencumbered by the need to incorporate old work, the Old College was none of these things.

Work began under the superintendence of John Boyd who entered the works on 12th March 1632, and whose name is noted elsewhere, engaged in the royal works at Dumbarton Castle, and at Glasgow's Tolbooth.<17> From about 1655, it is John Clark who is evidently in charge, Boyd having perhaps retired or died.<18> These two are possibly responsible in great measure for the design of what was built, for there is nothing to suggest a direct connection with Murray.<19> On 25 September 1630 the Town Council granted a thousand merks (plus another thousand for books) "for help and supplie to the building of ane new work within thecollege...", and further grants were made in 1632, 1655 (for "one thowsand daills"), 1656, 1660 ("to helpe to put on the roof on the foir wark they are building..."), for which a surplus balance of £390/16/8d was in 1661 given in addition to £1,000 given the previous year.<20>

The south and west sides of the inner court were completed

in about 1656, and a reference of that year tells that work "goes on vigorously" with about £26,000 already spent. The north and south ranges of the outer court were completed 1658, and last of all the "foir wark", ie the block fronting the High Street, for which John Clark contracted in 1659.<21>

Much of the building, including, it is said, the steeple, was funded by the bequest of the Rev Zachary Boyd, minister of the Barony church, who left £20,000 - part reserved for the yearly maintenance of three young men, students in Divinity - as well as his library. His bust was installed in a niche in the tower, a memorial to his bequest, in the way that George Heriot was commemorated at Heriot's by a statue, The Hutchesons at Hutcheson's Hospital, Glasgow, and John Cowane at John Mylne's Cowane's Hospital, Stirling. Another significant bequest came, belatedly, from Michael Wilson, who died in 1617 resident in Eastbourne, Sussex, where he had been a teacher of Latin.<22>

That bequest, half of which was intended for building work, amounted to £6,000, and would have been lost Wilson being "a stranger in England, and not denisoned or naturalised there..." but for the "singular cair and paynis" of the Earl of Stirling and the "great labour and paynis" of Sir James Carmichael of that ilk.<23>

In gratitude for their intercessions, it was decided 2nd

February 1640 that two Wilson bursaries should be presented annually by The Earl of Stirling and Carmichael, "and ther aires", but the earl died 10 days later, on the 12th.<24>

The link between the college and the Earl of Stirling and with Sir James Carmichael is interesting, as both men were father to holders of the post of Master of the King's works, and the college was of course being rebuilt in the court style. Sir Anthony Alexander and his elder brother had both studied at Glasgow, the former having matriculated in 1623, the latter being the "best beloved scholar at Glasgow" of the Rev Robert Blair.<25> Younger (male) members of the Alexander family also matriculated at Glasgow - John (later of Gartmore) in 1630, Charles, in 1632, Robert, in 1634, and James, in 1635.<26>

John Carmichael, the third son of Sir James was appointed joint royal architect with John Veitch of Dawyck in 1643, but was killed at Marston Moor in the following year.<27> His brother Daniel (Sir James' second son) succeeded in 1645 as joint master of works and general warden with Veitch, and was appointed in the next year to the post of joint royal architect.<28> In 1649, with building at the college still incomplete, Daniel Carmichael resigned his place in favour of Sir Robert Montgomerie of Skelmorlie, for whose grandparents the Skelmorlie aisle had been built.<29>

This care taken by the old Earl of Stirling to ensure that Glasgow College got its due suggests a fondness for the city or for the College - a point already evidenced by his choosing to send his sons there, but also brings a step even closer to the court architects the buildings then erecting.

Examination of the architectural detail at the college, however, is interesting for the following points emerge. Firstly, with regard to the pediments, the pin or nail holes of the strapwork are represented as being empty (ie circular pierced holes) as are the survivors on the Glasgow tolbooth and some of the derivative monuments in the Cathedral Kirkyard (commonly, English examples have empty holes too); where such holes are represented in the east - ie on any of the above examples given - they are not empty, but as a general rule contain curved-headed "rivets". This suggests a different approach to the treatment of strapwork ornament. The single exception is a late one, on the Magdalen Chapel overdoor, dated 1649, whose pediment also has a west of Scotland look about it.<30> This suggests a different approach to the treatment of strapwork ornament. Secondly, many of the pediments at the College are derivative of the commonest Glasgow tolbooth steeple pattern, ie a horizontally-proportioned ellipse at the centre, horizontal straps extending each way from the centre. These pediments are seen on photographs of the attic windows of the fore work (west range) courtyard front and on the adjoining north

range, on the inner court south range, and the single returning bay of the centre range, so far as the steeple. With the single exception of Bannockburn House (undated, possibly post-1660), which differs in this regard from the otherwise near-identical Philpstoun House, this pattern is unknown in the east as are other pediment details used at the College, yet the point has been made above that in the east, pediments are often variants of the same pattern. The east range - replaced by the Hamilton building (designed by Peter Nicolson) early in the 19th century - is best known from Slezer's view and had, like the Heriots south range, a centre doorway with a semi-polygonal oriel more than one stage in height, reaching high above the eaves level, and given a prominent roof (domed at Heriots, with a spirelet at Glasgow).^{<31>} Unlike Heriots, the inner court had 6 stair turrets (circular, conical and slated roofs rather than polygonal and domed as at Heriots, giving a French -or alternatively, more traditional - character), 3 set against both the north and the south walls, and not as at Heriots, set in the corners but set instead a distance in from the angles. A seventh turret, placed central on the inner range was polygonal with a facettted roof, answering the oriel opposite. The outer court on the other hand contained a polygonal stair turret in 2 of the diagonally opposing stair turrets, and the doorway of at least one (this doorway is re-set in the Pearce Lodge) has a profile like the Heriots staircase doorways. On the centre range, beyond the tower, are plain steep-gabled dormer heads and unmargined windows, to

both elevations, which may mean that the designer of this range was operating to a more traditional formula.

The steeple bore the date 1656, and, as noted, is thought to have been built with Zachery Boyd's legacy as his bust is set above its pend. Photographs show that steeple to have been, like the nearby tolbooth steeple, colossal in scale, probably by far the two highest 17th century steeples in the country, and with a leaded ogee cupola of the type noted above, first used by Murray and Alexander at Holyrood.

On the street front (the fore work) was the main entrance gateway, also now incorporated in the Pearce Lodge. The quality of sculpture is every bit as high as the Edinburgh court style, with strap-worked brackets and decorative panel moulding of similar type, openings in raised and chamfered flat margins. The detailing otherwise is not quite of the eastern court style, though the door arch is round, and the stonework is alternate plain and rock-faced stones, like the Herdmanston and Neidpath gateways, gatepiers at Calder House, and parts of Old Arniston House, fragments of which survive set in a grotto of 1758 by (it seems) the Adams.<32>

The balconies from either side of the original gateway are also now set on the Pearce Lodge, and their design is quite identical to that of Moray House (Slezer shows parapets of curvilinear form, probably of wrought-iron,

possibly a guide to what those at Moray House originally looked like), while the diamond-flue stacks on the High Street wallhead are like those of Heriots. Clearly, then the influence is from the east, but the pattern of ornament of the dormer heads is quite unlike anything in the east; ie, they do not relate in the way that the buildings in the east bear variant forms of the same patterns. The date here is later, and the devisor - of the detail at least - evidently, a different man - or men, trying new ideas, but operating within the confines of what was regarded as the appropriate style for such a major building.

Perhaps too the politics implicit in adopting the court style contributed to its use here. The college had presented a series of orations to Charles at his coronation in 1633, which signalled that it "was a centre of modest royalist support, as further revealed in the reluctance of many faculty to subscribe to the National Covenant of 1638".^{<33>} Zachary Boyd's own position may have been significant, for he, as noted, was one of the principal benefactors of the new works, and although politically he eventually changed his position, he had been one of the "greatest opposites in the west to the subscription of The Covenant",^{<34>} and from 1631 onwards he held elected office at the College and so enjoyed an influential position, doubtless with a bearing on decisions taken regarding what was to be built there.

There is therefore nothing to suggest a direct input to the design by Murray, or even - notwithstanding the family interest there - by Anthony Alexander. The work, primarily, is derivative of that by Murray and his circle, but Glasgow and the West, evidently, was both alive to the fashions of the East, and sufficiently self-confident at that stage to formulate a regional variant of the court style.

Parliament House

It was King Charles I who in 1632 "insisted on a new parliament house, to provide accommodation for parliament, the court of session and other courts."<35> The story of the construction of this new Parliament House was set out in 1924, and little need be added here in that regard.<36> From our point of view, the crucial reference is dated 1st February 1633, when the Town Council of Edinburgh made payment "...to James Murray, Maister of Worke to his Ma., for his bygane travellis takin be him in the Tounis workes and for drawin of the modell of the workes of the parliament and counsalhous presentlie intendit the soume of ane thousand pundis...".<37>

The new building was L-shaped on plan, parliament hall comprising the main body of the building with the laigh hall underneath, the Inner House in the jamb where at ground level the Court of Session sat, and at the upper

level the Court of Exchequer. The hall was where parliament met, and where the Lord Ordinary sat.<38>

The building survived significant alteration immediately after 1707 when it was taken over by the legal fraternity, but it was re-fronted in the few years following 1804 to designs by Robert Reid.<39>

Much more survives of the original building than is readily apparent when viewed from Parliament Square, both in situ, and ex situ.

Firstly, ex situ: there is a group of carved features salvaged last century: a series at Arniston, both set into the house main pediment and made into a coherent sunken garden design scheme; a smaller series at Abbotsford, acquired by Sir Walter Scott; and a third group, formerly in a garden in Drummond Place, now on display within the building.<40>

Seen in situ is the huge main hall space, with its spectacular timber roof built by John Scott, the same master wright who built a near-identical roof at the nearby Tron Kirk, which was building from 1636. The roof corbels are all elaborately decorated, one bearing a representation of the palace block and half-moon battery at the Castle; which, of course was (1) an important building, which (as seen) (2) would not look the way it did were it not for Murray.<41>

The external appearance is best known from the view by John Elphinstone, which shows the sophistication of the composition: a symmetricalising splay-planned block, monumental entrance in the body of the building, subordinate entrance in the slightly lower jamb.<42>

For this study, the principal points to note are that this building has:

a) features in common with other works with which Murray is associated: for instance, square bartizans (on the south gable, like those at the Edinburgh palace block, or Pinkie); pediments with paired garlands suspended from rings (again, as seen at the Edinburgh palace block; also at Murray's own Kilbaberton).

b) features in common with buildings not linked to Murray by documentation, but for visual reasons linked with buildings of this group: for instance, the flat-recessed ingoe moulding as seen at Argyll Lodging, or South Queensferry Kirk; pediment detailing comparable also with Argyll Lodging.

The point is that the range of ideas and motifs found in association with this documented Murray composition readily finds parallel both in other works with which Murray is associated (and therefore pointing to the hand of the one designer), as well as in works of comparable character with which Murray's name is not associated, but

which visual assessment would once again suggest to represent the hand of the one designer. It is submitted that the visual consistency in the group of buildings considered here points overwhelmingly towards there being one person responsible for several of these designs: and the only likely - indeed, exceedingly likely - name is that of Murray. Is not his personality seen as forcefully at Heriot's as it is at Parliament House?

* * *

Footnotes

1. Peerage, VIII, pp.172-177; Letters, II, 439. Perhaps the Earl of Stirling's interests in Stornoway, then in the early stages of growth (an episcopal church, for instance, was first built 1633), brought in the masters of works.

2. Edinburgh, pp.179-82; Steven, Memoir of George Heriot, 1845. A successful challenge from at least one relative made the legacy smaller than it would have otherwise been.

3. Howard, Les Chantiers de la Renaissance, p.282

4. The comparison was first made by Summerson, in his Architecture in Britain p.535. It is accepted without question in Edinburgh, p.180

5. A. Rowan in CL, clvii, 1975, p.556

6. Treasures of Fyvie, fig.3. The question of whether the front linking ranges have been lowered is discussed in ibid., pp.16-7, and cf. fig.5.

7. See copy plans in NMRS, DFD 58/29 (though we can sidestep that particular debate for the moment; the existence of the design is sufficient for the present argument)

8. Colvin, Biographical Dictionary, p.472

9. This provides an interesting parallel with the architecture of a century later, when England picked up

the unadorned "Palladian" architecture of late 17th/early 18th century Scotland, while Scotland in the 1720s picked up James Gibbs' Baroque style which had all but run its course in England.

10. Master Masons, pp.78-9

11. J. Brown, Edinburgh Elite

12. Edinburgh, pp.180-1

13. NMRS, ED/2651; Inventory of Edinburgh, fig. 167 (detail of the 1647 'bird's-eye view').

14. T. Ross and G.B. Brown, 'The Magdalen Chapel, Cowgate, Edinburgh', BOEC, VIII (1916), pp.32, 35. The Lady Kilbaberton gifted a 'litill knok' to the Hammermen for their tower. The prominence of one Thomas Weir, Deacon, in the records suggests therefore the possibility of the latter being a close relative of Katherine, and of her father, Cornelius (ibid., p.35).

15. Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis, III, pp.481-588; Extracts, 1573-1642; David Murray Memories of the Old College of Glasgow (Glasgow, Jackson Wylie and Co., 1927);

16. Edinburgh Old College also had a pair of courts, as did Adam's intended new design. Glasgow's Victorian replacement replicated the same pattern, both on John Baird's proposals and on the executed building.

17. Munimenta, III, p.481; D. Murray, Memories of the Old College of Glasgow, p.29

18. Munimenta, III, p.500.

19. The developmental sequence of this earlier phase is partly known: the north side of the inner court (or close) was first rebuilt (it had a 1632 datestone on a top floor dormer), then the eastern, and both ranges appear to have been complete by 1639.

20. Glasgow Recs., 1573-1642, p.375; ibid., 1630-1662, pp.329, 454, 463

21. D. Murray, Memories of the Old College of Glasgow, p.31; Munimenta, III, p.507.

22. Epitaphs, p.177

23. Glasgow Recs., 1573-1642, pp.408-11

24. ibid., 1573-42, p.409

25. William Row, The Life of Mr Robert Blair, Minister of St. Andrews from 1593 to 1636, etc. (Edinburgh, Wodrow Society, 1848), p.92

26. Peerage, VIII, pp.176-181
27. ibid., IV, p.587
28. Accounts, II, p.lix
29. ibid., p.lx
30. BOEC, VIII, fig.14
31. Slezer, Theatrum Scotiae, pl.18. The Caerlaverock pediments, incidentally, also have 'empty', Western-type rivet-holes.
32. The date, and the style and quality of design, suggest the Adam authorship.
33. David Atkinson, ed., Selected Sermons of Zachary Boyd (Scottish Text Society, 17, 1989), p.xiii
34. ibid. , p.xiii
35. G Donaldson, Scotland James V-James VII (Edinburgh History of Scotland, vol. III) (Edinburgh, Mercat Press, 1987), p.303
36. BOEC, XIII (1924), pp.1-78
37. Edin. Recs., 1626-41, p.119
38. Edinburgh, p.119
39. ibid., p.120
40. Thomas Ross, 'Old Parliament Hall [sic: recte 'House'] Edinburgh: Statues of Justice and Mercy', PSAS, 13th Jan. 1919, pp.30-3 Inventory of Selkirkshire, p.300
41. The most recent history is that by the Hon. Lord Cullen, Parliament House: a short history and guide (Edinburgh, 1992)
42. Reproduced in Hugo Arnot, History of Edinburgh, opposite p.293

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CHAPTER 15: JAMES MURRAY AND INIGO JONES

One of the earlier points noted above is the hitherto overlooked fact that Murray (and Alexander) held a position equivalent to that of Inigo Jones in England. In Scotland, where there was comparatively little building activity for the crown, from 1628 two people held this post, while in England, where royal patronage was greater, the Surveyorship was held by one man until Webb was taken on as an assistant in the 1630s (having become a pupil of Jones in 1628: the same year in which Alexander took up post).^{<1>} But if Murray was an architect in the same sense as Jones, then it would be interesting, in the context of a newly-united kingdom, to compare the work of the king's architect in Scotland with that of his architect in England. The two have in this context been mentioned briefly above, at Holyrood, but in what ways were they similar, and in what ways did they differ?

We are now familiar with Murray's work. He is otherwise as good as unknown to architectural historians, but it can be seen that his architecture derived logically from the national tradition whilst simultaneously brought in ideas from elsewhere (whether northern mainland Europe, or from England), combining - of course - with fresh ideas emerging from the native culture: producing in the natural way that is seen in any other country, an architecture that was unique, in the sense that any country is identified by its cultural uniqueness. This architecture,

built first for the court, and courtiers, then came to characterise the national mainstream. Jones, in contrast with Murray, is the subject of books, chapters in books, countless academic papers and theses and of seminars. Why?

Jones is remarkable for his early introduction to 'remote' England of a 'pure' Italian architecture, used by him when the rest of Europe north of the Alps favoured other styles of architecture, mostly a late Mannerist style (Scotland, by the time of Jones taking up office was at the point of conforming to this north European norm). This Jonesian architecture is regarded as 'advanced', and no superlative is too great for him - like his contemporary, Shakespeare, he has become something of an 'untouchable' icon, not only in England, but elsewhere. Only in 1993 was the 'untouchability' first questioned in a paper by Bold.<2> Jones had travelled abroad and had seen Italy and studied architecture there. He was impressed by the work of Palladio, and acquired many of his drawings; and he met Scamozzi. His interest in producing work of 'correct' Italianate character demonstrates a fundamental understanding of Italian architecture of the previous generation. A view exists which regards architectural history as a race; and by these terms, Jones is, therefore, a prizewinner, because he successfully anticipated the direction which much European architecture was to take, from the late 17th/early 18th century onwards.

But two points:

1. Suppose we do not regard architectural history as a race. What then? Other criteria apply, such as quality and artistry of design. Now how do our architects compare?

Jones' major works are his Queen's house etc.. These are remarkable works; they could, on visual assessment alone, be of a date 2 centuries later. But if they were, and they were as a consequence judged on that basis, would they measure up in terms of artistry to work by Thomas Hamilton, William Playfair, or (in England) Sir Robert Smirke? The comparison is close to being meaningless, but the point is that as an artist, Jones is hardly in the top flight; it is his precocious use of Italianate designs which sets him apart from his peers, rather than his being an artistic genius. However, this study is concerned rather more with the intellectual and art-historic aspects, than with the assessment of artistic quality, or 'loveliness'.

2. How far can Jones' work be seen as representing architectural ideas and principles previously seen at houses such as Culross, whose character also have an Italianate (arguably even 'Palladian') character? Might a knowledge of Cunninghame, of Chancellor Seton, or of the Scots court architecture of the Schaw-Cunninghame periods have helped persuade him of the need to know European, or perhaps specifically Italian architecture? He had, after

all, in 1603 visited the Danish court; a centre known to Scots such as Schaw, Cunninghame the elder - and, as yet uncertain, perhaps the younger Cunninghame, too.<3>

Two of the features which lend particular interest to Jones' buildings may in fact have been seen previously in the royal works in Scotland. The first of these is the use of a bridge to link two parts of a united building over a public roadway - something created by Jones at the Queen's House and yet which existed at Dunfermline, not only in the medieval entrance still existing at Dunfermline, but in the building known in the 18th century as "Queen Anne's Building".<4> Secondly, the Stirling Chapel Royal is in an architectural style which, whilst logically deriving from the national tradition (in use of round-arched architecture, bellied mouldings), could be assigned the term 'Italianate'.

Jones' designs for St Paul's, for Covent Garden, and for the Queen's House are all quite remarkably innovative, in the context of what had gone before and of what was to follow in the immediate term. In this country, the same words could be used of approximately contemporary buildings/designs such as Heriot's, Culross and Winton. The thinking that produced Jones' works may or may not have been any more or less profound than the thinking which produced the Scots buildings here. Jones produced, and sustained, an imported architecture from Italy earlier than anyone else did in northern Europe. Murray (if this

thesis has demonstrated that he was an architect) presided over an architectural elite which introduced features that might be described as an import from another age, with revivalist work such as Winton, ecclesiastical work that was neo-Gothic, to a culture in which revival was no stranger,<5> and he produced designs which took an imaginative way of looking at architecture, with the use of 'casket' designs. And who can say what direction the court architecture might have taken were the king on hand to influence, and were the Stirling Chapel Royal to have been part of an undisturbed and continuing developmental sequence, rather than the 'swan song' of a native royal court.

This last point introduces the idea of another possible interpretation: for if the Stirling Chapel Royal of 1594 is 'Italianate';<6> might Culross Abbey House be similarly described? The uniformity of its facade is a feature characteristic of Italian architecture, as, indeed, is the idea of a uniform facade being of inordinate length: the Procuratie Vecchie (50 bays) or the Marciana Library (both Venice),<7> for instance, might have been given several more or several less window bays without significant impact upon the overall design. Much later, J T Rothead's Grosvenor Terrace was to follow the same idea: almost countless, identical window bays.<8> The site at Culross - a steep-sloping terraced garden to front has the appearance of an Italian villa site such as that of Villa d'Este, at Tivoli.<9> Likewise, the idea of 'fastening'

the ends of a face by advanced elements is frequently seen, once again at Villa d'Este, and at Villa Farnesina;<10> and of course, the idea of treating openings on different floor levels differently, sometimes with aedicule frames, is commonplace, as seen at eg the Farnese Palace in Rome.<11> Why can not Culross be seen as drawing from Italian architecture? Duntarvie is a less developed version of this Culross formula. The 'uniform' facade Chaworth saw at Berwick suggests it to have had affinities with Culross. So, does this mean that around the turn of the 16th-17th centuries, Scots court architecture was exploring the idea of reproducing an explicitly Italianate style of architecture; and anticipating Jones' precocious compositions? Perhaps, then, there is more significance than first appears in use here of the 'Porta Pia' pediments at Newark, 1597, which anticipate Jones' usage of the detail in 1618.<12> If the emergence in the latter decades of the 16th century of an 'Italianising' architecture is argued for, then Crichton is no longer an 'aberration', but an early example of this particular phase of fashion, in the same way that Culross is a later example. And then: the above suggestion that Cunninghame of Robertland was responsible for the banqueting house in London might take on a new significance when we recall that it had columns along its interior walls, as seen in Italian/ Roman architecture, and as published by great authors such as Palladio and Alberti.

Might it be that the Mannerist ornament which was to become fashionable here from the end of the second decade of the 17th century should be seen partly as a reflection of an English influence which might otherwise never have come about had Scots courtiers not found themselves exposed to the English fashions (for Jones was not immediately fashionable in England, much outwith the royal works), which, in terms of traditional assessment of 'progress' (in traditional architectural-historical terms), actually dragged Scotland's architecture backwards. For 'Mannerism' of a rather more French than Netherlandish type is seen at, for instance, Mar's Lodging, Carnasserie and at the Edinburgh palace, in work of 1566-early 80s, and was thus already being superseded by the 1590s.

Orthodox architectural history has it that 'Palladian' architecture north of the Alps in the early 17th century is very important. Does that mean that Italian-inspired architecture of like or earlier date which is not categorised as 'Palladian' is therefore less significant, even if (as in this country) coherent, sustained and developed? And when does Italianate architecture stop being 'Albertian', or 'Serlian', and start being 'Palladian'? The latter term has taken on a culturally-loaded meaning which seems to stray from the confines of objective scholarship. Why was James Smith a 'Palladian', and not (in view of his Italian experience) an architect who a) experimented with Italianate designs, and who

b)would also have had a natural regard for Jones, who had produced a comparable architecture in the time of Smith's father? His centralised and symmetrical plans are hardly a currency exclusive to Palladio. My point is that if Jones and his architecture is as important as scholars world-wide say it is, then is not architecture in this country likewise so for the same reasons?<13>

As Murray was knighted and Jones was not, does that mean Charles had a higher regard for the former? As Charles knew much about Jones and probably knew little of Murray, the answer to this is probably in the negative; so there may have been another reason for Murray's elevation - either his conniving in Charles' political intentions, or else it was a result of pressure brought to bear in court on Murray's behalf. Perhaps it is significant that it was during the post-1625 'new' regime of Charles that Murray was knighted, ie when William Alexander was so prominent a political figure, and his son partner to Murray, though it seems likely that loyal crown (and courtier) service in helping get an Edinburgh parliament house built (and possibly also in re-creating the original open St Giles kirk) played a significant element in his being elevated. But the question of how far did Jones' 'Italianing' architecture post-date a similar trend or fashion in Scotland is one not previously raised, yet, it now appears, one worthy of consideration.

Footnotes

1. Colvin, Biographical Dictionary, p.870
2. John Bold, 'The Critical Reception of Inigo Jones' Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society vol.37, 1993, pp147-56
3. Colvin, Biographical Dictionary, p.468
4. The date when a bridge at Stirling, linking palace to great hall, was first built is unknown.
5. For instance, the national revival of the 15th century.
6. cf. window detailing of Palazzo Strozzi, Florence [Jacob Burckhardt (Peter Murray, ed.), The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance (Penguin Books, 1987), p.42]
7. Venice and its Treasures (Venezia, Storti, 1981), pp.48, 50
8. This was a feature of tenement design since at least the 18th century, as seen, for instance, in Govanhill, Glasgow.
9. Burckhardt, The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance, p.182
10. Peter Murray, The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance (Thames and Hudson, the World of Art Library, 1891), p.162 (cf. use of spine wall)
11. W J Anderson (ed Stratton), The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy (London: Batsford, n.d.), pp.132-3
12. In-House, p.1; Summerson, Classical Language, pls.56, 57
13. One possible enthusiast for Italian architecture might have been Chancellor Seton, who in 1571, when aged about 15, was sent to Rome, where he studied in the Jesuit-run German College. [See Lee, The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland, p.170; Innes Review xix, pp.20-1] Seton's interest in architecture has already been noticed.

* * *

CONCLUSION

Space has not permitted an assessment of all buildings with which Murray or those within his circle were evidently associated: such as the more minute detail of royal works, wings/additions at some houses, or interior plasterwork. Even entire buildings such as Redbraes have, for reasons of space, had to be omitted. Similarly, painted ceiling/mural work has received little consideration here: though it can be noted that much of this work remained the province of the craftsman rather than the artist trained in a rather more mainstream European tradition (exceptions to that general rule perhaps being Jenkin, and Anderson). Therefore, the already-available material on, for instance, the palace at Edinburgh, has not been duplicated, whilst the fact that the gateway beneath has not been previously recognised for what it was has suggested it to be worthy of comparatively lengthy notice.

Some findings break down into one of two headings: viz., the particular, ie relating specifically to Murray; and the general, ie the wider national trends in architecture, previous to, during, or subsequent to the time of Murray. Other findings come under both headings.

Thus, from our consideration of Murray's role, it has been noted that people usually referred to as being pre-eminent in architecture in the period - Wallace, the Mylnes,

Aytoun - are now properly seen in a subordinate role.

Where, then, have we reached in seeking an understanding of the best architecture of the early 17th century? We have

1) buildings which are of this court group; such as Winton, Heriot's, Kilbaberton which can be firmly linked to Murray and to his circle of architects/craftsmen, whether by documentary or by visual evidence, or by both.

2) Buildings which are immediately derivative of this court group, classified as follows:

2a.) buildings such as Glasgow Tolbooth and College and the Skelmorlie Aisle which are the result of a determined and extremely successful attempt to provide the west with the same new architecture for clients there who required architecture which was fully up-to-date. Visual inspection suggests that most likely in the case of Skelmorlie Aisle, craftsmen were brought from the east to execute the monument, just as the artist John Stalker was brought in to provide the ceiling painting, but the aisle itself could well be the work of a Western architect.

2b.) buildings of the east/central area which demonstrate an awareness of this new architecture, attempt to emulate it but with a greater or lesser degree of success; many lack its polish and sophistication. Examples of this

include Preston Tower, Magdalens House and Dairsie church.

2c.) buildings in the north that are provincial renderings such as St Mary's Wardlaw, and the re-modelling of Provost Skene's house

3) buildings which are high-quality and yet of a different architectural style and therefore do not at all belong to this group: most significantly, Caerlaverock.

We have noted also that there are two different types of product from the court architecture of this period in terms of ornament, and two different types in terms of front elevation. The early examples are characterised by basically uniform flat-fronted elevations broken sometimes by stair turrets or by pavilions, the ends perhaps tied by either square pavilions (Culross) or by square bartizans (Pinkie), sometimes with pediments 'floating' above the windows (Edinburgh Palace). In general form, these compositions derive logically from buildings such as Stirling Chapel Royal, or Duntarvie, from the previous generation. Generally, this essentially flat-fronted formula has restrained ornament. In its developed stage, this architecture becomes more elaborate, with richly-sculptured Mannerist ornament, and - deriving, also logically, from buildings such as Fyvie - much more use of advance/recess of the wall-planes, particularly at centre and ends. This second type of ornament was to remain

popular until the early part of the 18th century, eg at monuments at Glasgow Cathedral.

* * *

The Particular

The following observations relating to Murray in particular can be made.

The emergence of a 'new' style coincided, broadly, with Murray's appointment to the post of Master of the King's Works, and the style was in decline soon after his death; the fashion had run its course, perhaps, and the declining political and economic situation made building difficult. Accumulating financial problems in the royal works as well as a realisation that royal palaces in Scotland were not perhaps ever going to see a lot of use by royalty brought the duties of the Masters of Works effectively to a conclusion. But the Murray period court style was not immediately replaced by a new fashion. Mylne's Tron Kirk must have looked at the time that it might change architectural fashion in terms of ornament; yet it had in fact little influence on subsequent work (though as noted, the T-plan church with centre steeple came to be a standard), its suggested influence amounting perhaps to only some features at Leslie, one monument in Currie kirkyard and the Cardenden kirk jamb.

Following the return of Anthony Alexander from the continent and his appointment in 1628 to a now-joint mastership of the king's works, there was no discernable change in the court style architecture; so there is nothing to suggest that he was the outstanding designer of his time. The building date of Heriot's would fit neatly with such a proposition, were the developed style to have emerged then. Perhaps it did. But perhaps the change from say Kilbaberton, with a tentative use of Mannerist ornament, to Winton, building in the 1620s, pre-dates Alexander's return. It might be argued that The Kilbaberton porch and the top floor ornament at Winton was in each case a change from the original design, but there is nothing to back up that hypothesis. Besides, the work at Argyll Lodging is not markedly superior to that at say, Heriot's (rather, some might argue, the contrary).

The one change which does emerge about this time is the strap-worked detailing, which by the time of Parliament House of the 1630s is slightly different from that of Winton: for instance, in use at the former of horizontally-proportioned pediments. This change might equally suggest that there was scope in detailing a building for a master mason to make a substantial individual contribution to design.

So it may be that a design for a building could be provided by a Master of Works, but the quality of execution would rest with the skill of the executant

mason(s). In which case, while the sculpture and detailing of Winton is much superior to that of Magdalens House in Prestonpans, built for clients of comparable political significance, the design might conceivably have come from the same source, the difference being in the ability of the master masons involved, as both might have been involved with the royal works and, consequently, with Murray.

Murray (and Alexander) must have seen it their place to consult with their leading craftsmen about architectural works. The question is, to what extent would they have consulted and delegated? Did they (as Inigo Jones did in England) see themselves as being responsible for designing and for drawing out plans of buildings? Might Murray for instance have been responsible for - or, more tellingly, capable of - drawing up the 1608-18 plans for Drumlanrig? Or was all such work in Scotland the responsibility of the master craftsmen? Murray, of course had been a master craftsman. But this was a sufficiently early date for the Scottish practice to have remained independent from the English, and a national system might have been defended by the Scots, so we not be comparing like with like. If, however, Murray had not seemed to Charles to hold the equivalent of the English post of king's 'Surveyor' or architect, then would he not have called him something different?

Another point is the way in which the one detail might

appear in stonework as well as on plasterwork, or on painting (and even on Drummond of Hawthornden's book title page) which points to there being a general movement, possibly headed by one authoritative figure, whose influence was sufficiently strong for it to have been exercised on more than on one craft alone.

Finally, there is the incontrovertible evidence of Murray having designed the Parliament House and the Dunbar house at Berwick. There is too the very strong suggestion that he designed the palace blocks at Edinburgh and Linlithgow, and Lochmaben tolbooth, and he was evidently regarded as technically expert in bridge building.

* * *

General

Here too we have some points emerging which are completely new interpretations: for instance, it has been suggested that the 1581x1591 reconstruction of Crichton in an Italianate style heralded the arrival of an 'Italianising' architecture in the late 16th-early 17th century court work, of which the Stirling Chapel Royal (1594) is the most obvious example, Culross Abbey House (1608) one of its later works. Preston Hall in Cupar, which Gifford correctly interprets as "a compact version of Culross Abbey House",^{<1>} and probably dating from 1623 bears witness to the style continuing into the period when this

architecture was in turn superseded by a North European Mannerist style, from about the early 1620s onwards. It has been said of the latter part of the 16th century, the period of James VI's 'Castalian Band', that "never before had conditions in Scotland so favoured Italian adaptations and translations", so perhaps the existence of an 'Italianising' architecture in the period should be hardly a surprise.<2>

We can be slightly more definite in arguing that James VI's enforcing of episcopacy, and the Five Articles of Perth (1617; ratified by parliament 1621) appears to have sparked off a neo-Gothic ecclesiastical architecture; from the progenitor building at Dairsie (dated 1621; doubtless begun previous to then), designed as a visual expression of loyalty to the crown, and subsequently, perhaps, sometimes used simply because it was a new fashion; though at Heriot's and Holyrood, loyalty to the crown was in the first place probably, and in the second case, certainly, an issue.

The use of crown spires, particularly on the Glasgow Tolbooth, was also a revival of a 'national' architecture; and the feature surely carried a similarly powerful symbolism of imperial monarchy in the early 17th century that it did for James IV; thus, like the neo-Gothic style, it conveyed a 'loyalist' message.

The eschewing of symmetry at Parliament House, and the

wilful discarding of symmetry at Winton may suggest something of a Scottish Baronial revival in the latter part of Murray's career. It is suggested that this may have been a response to neo-Gothic in ecclesiastical work, a revivalist secular design which might similarly convey the visual expression of loyalty; the paradox being that to express a 'British' loyalty (which to an extent even then was, as now, equivalent to the acceptance of English power), this was done by emphasising 'Scottishness', by deliberate revival of earlier national tradition.

* * *

All this amounts to a completely new interpretation of architectural developments in the period, and - if correct - must transform our whole understanding of the position. For we have now of course seen how traditional teaching of architectural history will no longer do: from Dunbar's pioneering and scholarly productions, now, simply, out of date; to the possibly more widely-read, and in terms of progressing knowledge, actually damaging, quasi-racist efforts by Summerson and the fantasy world of the 'British' school. The situation is evidently an extremely complex one to unravel, and whilst research is still in the primary stages, it is already clear that developments in the period do not readily shoe-horn into traditional chapter headings. For instance, few in possession of the facts would deny David Walker's place as outstanding in the world of architectural history. Yet he has recently

argued that

it could be said that in Scotland the Gothic tradition never quite died<3>

Thus the orthodoxy: while discussed here above, a contradictory argument, which transforms our understanding of what is generally regarded as a well-known, basic concept. In fact, MacGibbon and Ross a century ago recognised the existence of a "gothic revival of the seventeenth century"<4>, even going so far as to relate the use of Gothic to the "revival of episcopacy" in James VI's reign.<5> But here, they relate its usage to Terregles, a building of 1583 which has a semi-polygonal east end of pre-Reformation type. If this was indeed 'revival', and not 'survival', then that makes the concept of a politico/ecclesiological-inspired 'neo-Gothic' even earlier than 1617/18, and serves to further illustrate the complexities of architecture in the period. And yet, the flat-lintelled ecclesiastical architecture best-known from the James IV-James V-period Chapel at Falkland (Innerpeffery of 1508 is another well-known example) is of course seen in work of the 1590s, as noted above at Kilbirnie, whilst the Chapel Royal of 1594 is pure Renaissance. Perhaps Terregles should be interpreted as illustrative of the Fourth Lord Herries' Catholicism and support of Queen Mary, in this period immediately previous to Andrew Melville's fall from grace in 1584. But all this opens up another complexity of issues which cannot be dealt with here.

Returning to the theme of modern scholarship, we must also question by what criteria another author might say of the Earl's Palace at Kirkwall, that it has been

justly hailed 'as possibly the most mature and accomplished piece of Renaissance architecture left in Scotland'...the very highest standard of castle construction at this late date 'all formed out of a builder's brain'<6>

By what measure is this the 'most mature' Renaissance-period building in the country? Are we really to believe that it has a maturity greater than that of the major royal works, or of Heriot's, or of the Tron Kirk? How much more sophisticated is its planning in relation to Newark, with which it has affinities? Such thinking has surely now to give way to talk of architects, sophistication, court architecture, neo-Gothic, and so on. For might not the better work by our better architects constitute the better architecture of the Renaissance period, as it does that of the 18th or 19th centuries? Is the best 17th century architecture of other culturally progressive countries "all formed out of a builder's brain"?

Quite evidently, we require too a transformation in attitude of approach to the subject.

* * *

All the evidence indicates that Murray was a designer of buildings, and therefore an architect in the modern sense. The evidence also points overwhelmingly towards him, as

head of his profession, having been the outstanding designer of his time, in a period which witnessed the introduction of a new architecture that was of a high quality, and which passed a generous legacy to generations beyond; sufficiently high-quality indeed to have in the 19th century represented something approaching a national style for revival in especially the Edinburgh city tenements.

Just as previous generations had produced buildings of international significance or quality, such as Falkland, or the Stirling Forework gate or Chapel Royal, and as subsequent generations were to produce buildings of like (or sometimes greater) significance through architects such as Adam, or Thomson, so with buildings such as Heriot's, we once again have buildings of international quality, and architectural developments (such as revived Gothic) of possibly international significance. In Sir James Murray of Kilbaberton, it is submitted, we have an architect of like significance.

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Footnotes

1. Fife, p.166, pl.94.

2. R.D.S. Jack, The Italian Influence on Scottish Literature (Edinburgh University Press, 1972), p.56

3. David Walker, 'The Rhind Lectures 1990-1: a Synopsis', (The Origins of the Gothic Revival: the Architecture of Mid Georgian Fantasy), PSAS, 121 (1991), p.455. In fact, the wording, conceivably, may be almost strictly true,

insofar as a continuing late 16th century Gothic almost (indeed, may have) coincided with the introduction of neo-Gothic: conclusive research on this point has yet to be done. But Walker's statement (as the remainder of the text makes clear) is evidently intended to characterise the norm, and not the exceptional.

4. Ecc. Arch., III, p.618.

5. ibid., III, p.615.

6. Chris Tabraham, Scottish Castles and Fortifications (Edinburgh, HMSO, 1986), p.67

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(ii) Lectures

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(iii) Radio Broadcast

Purser, John: 'Scotland's Music', BBC-Scotland Radio
Programme broadcast 22nd December, 1991.

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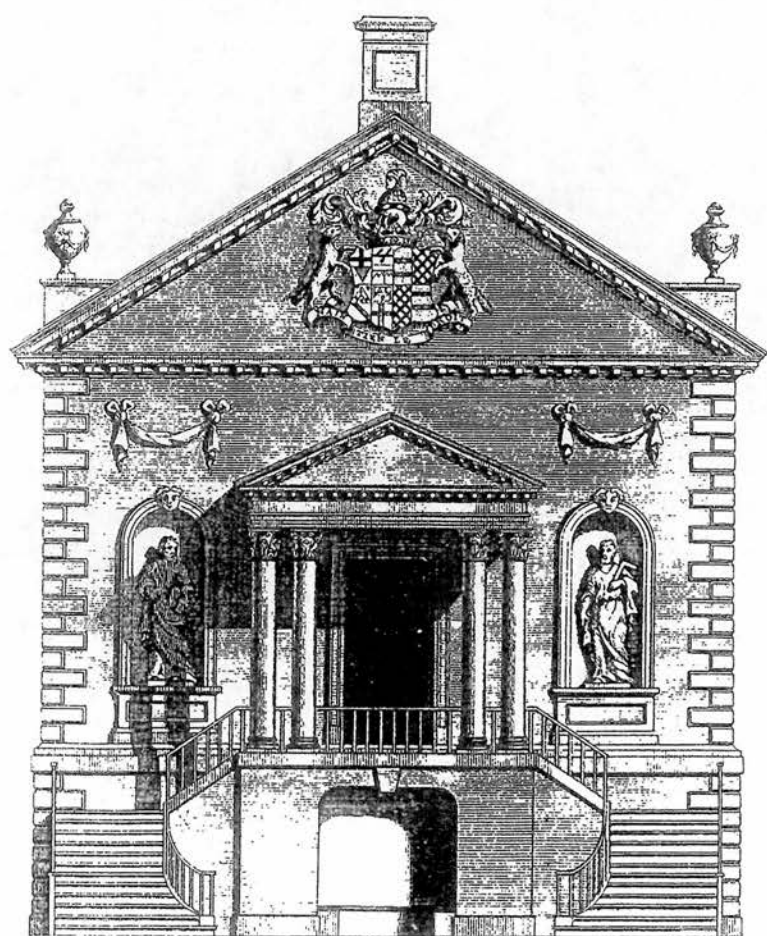
ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

<u>Book of the Old Edinburgh Club</u>	[BOEC]
<u>Country Life</u>	[CL]
<u>Innes Review</u>	[IR]
<u>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</u>	[PSAS]
<u>Scottish Historical Review</u>	[SHR]

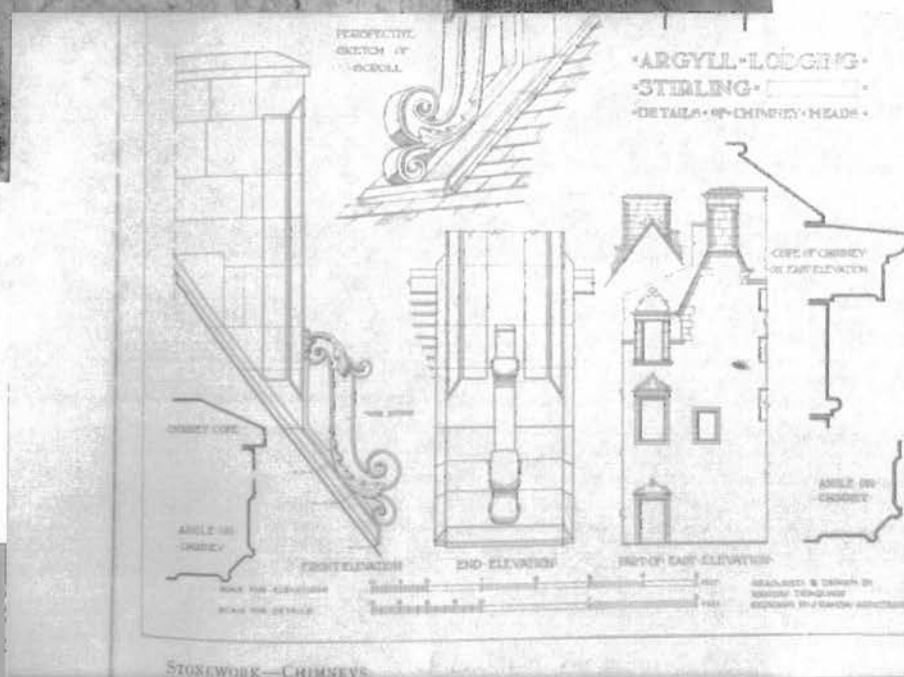


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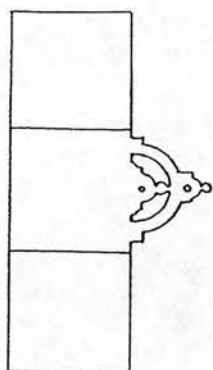




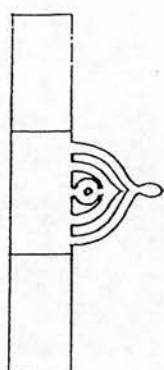
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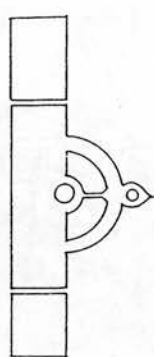
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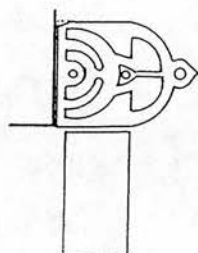
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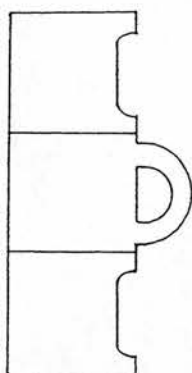


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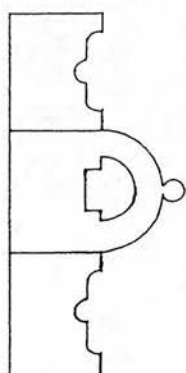


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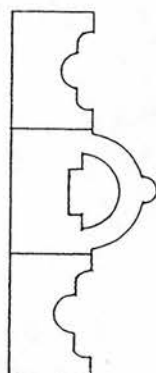


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1628

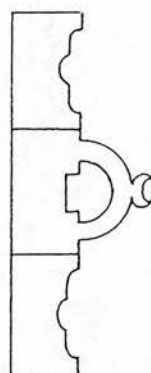
Monkton, n.d.

Niddrie, n.d. some quoins with
finial detail as on Staneyhill
main building

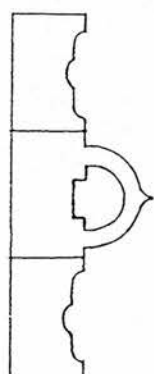
Prestonfield rebuilt after 1681



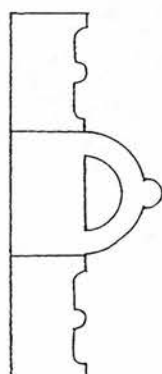
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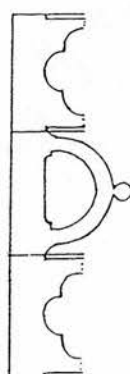
Staneyhill, n.d.
stair alternating with
finial pattern seen
on main building



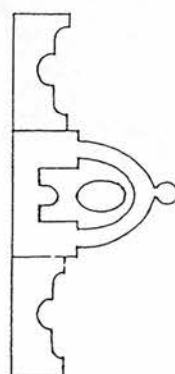
Staneyhill, n.d.
main building



Argyll Lodging
1632



St Mary's Wardlaw
1633-34

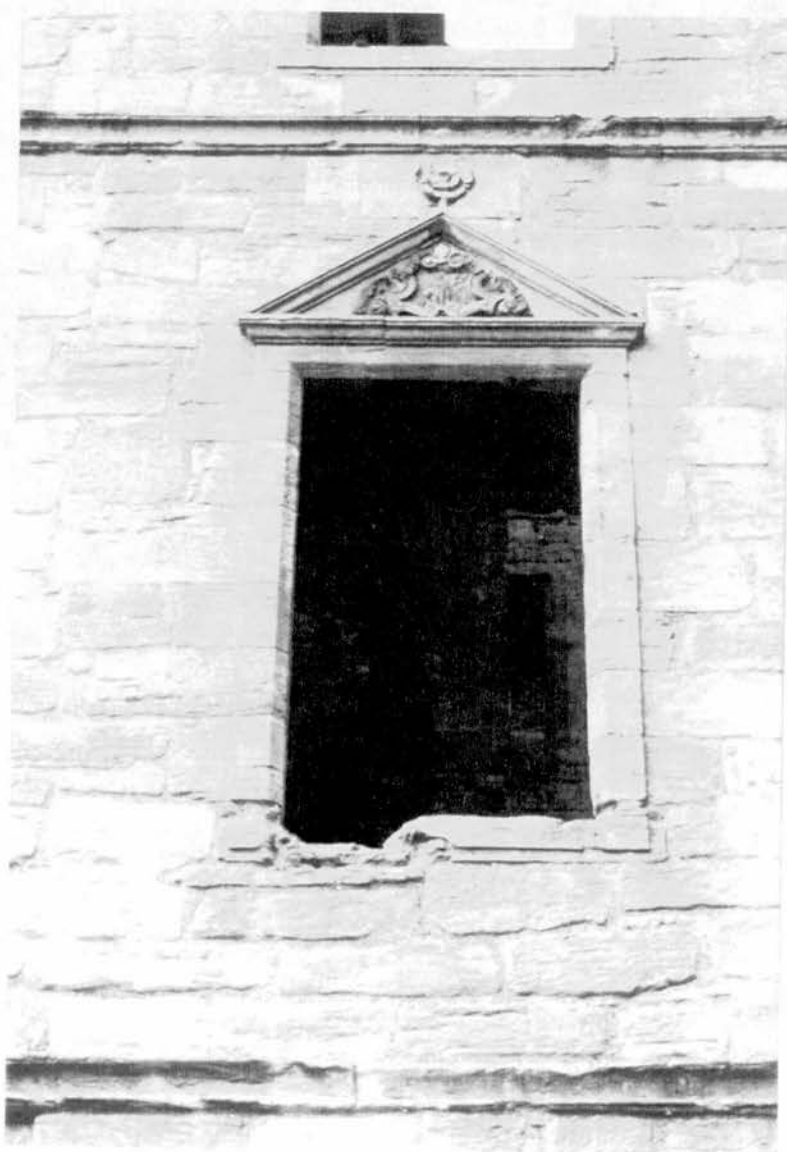


Ferniehurst

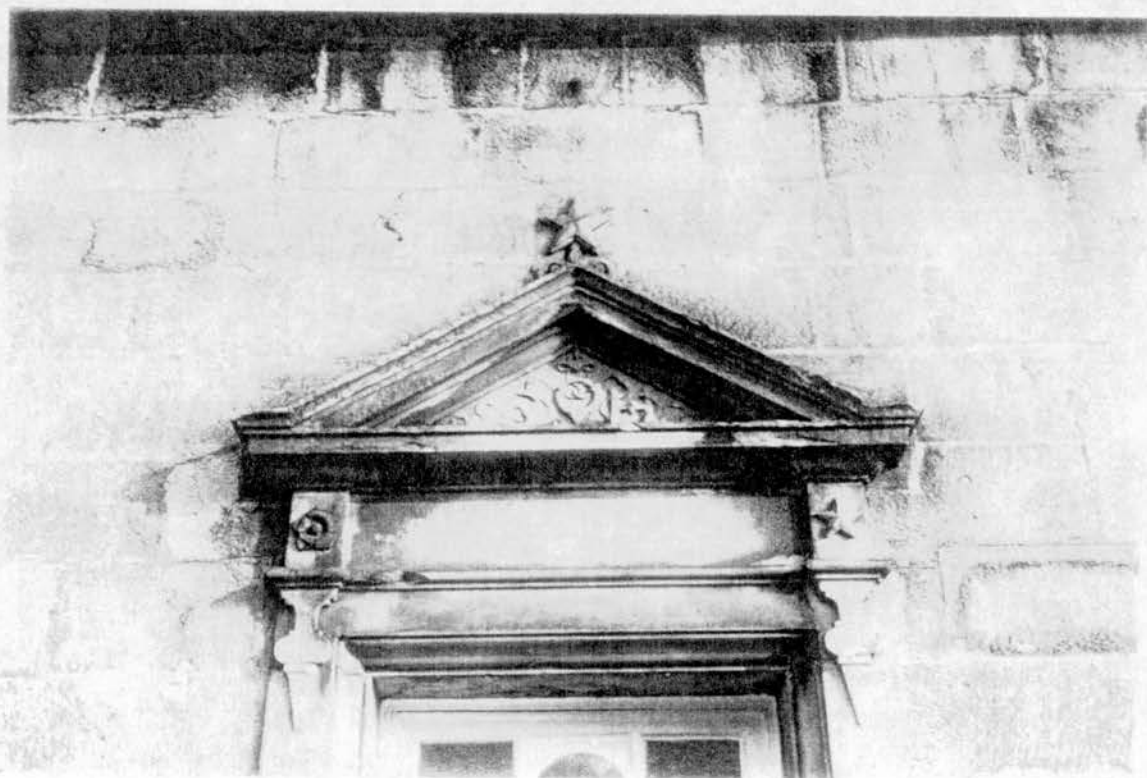
Fig. 1



Edinburgh Castle : Palace block

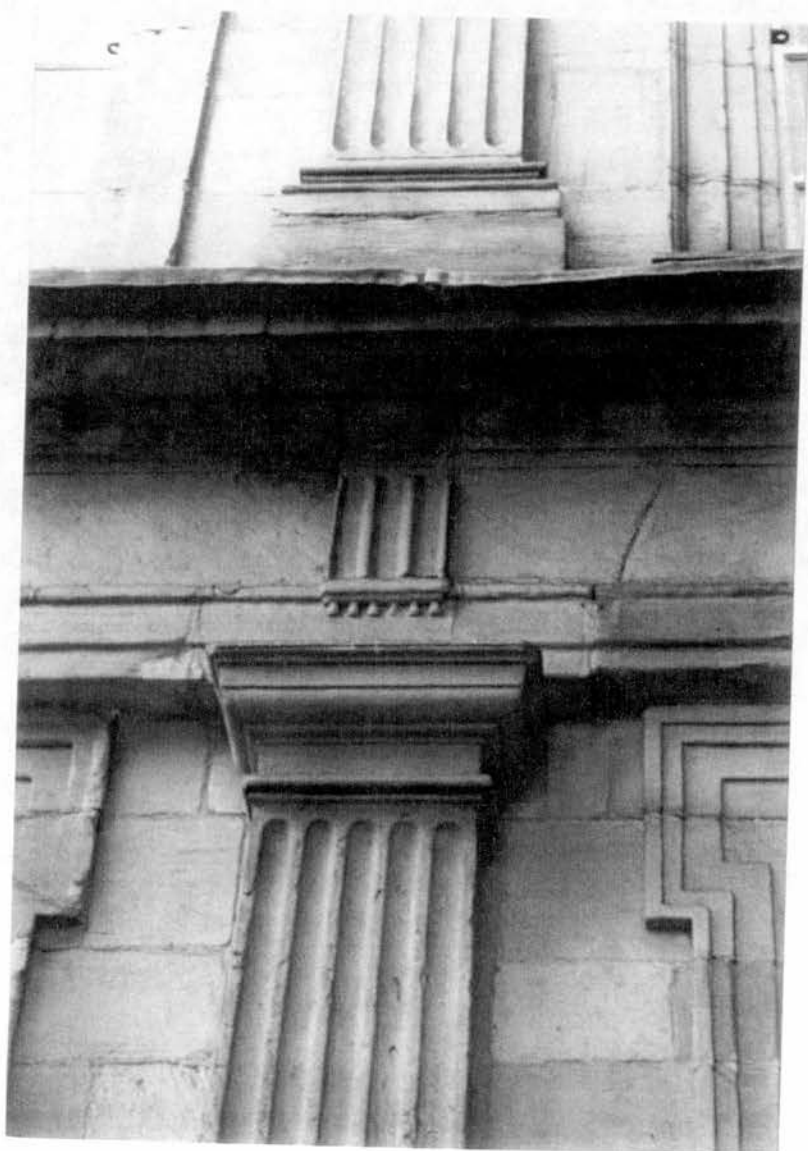


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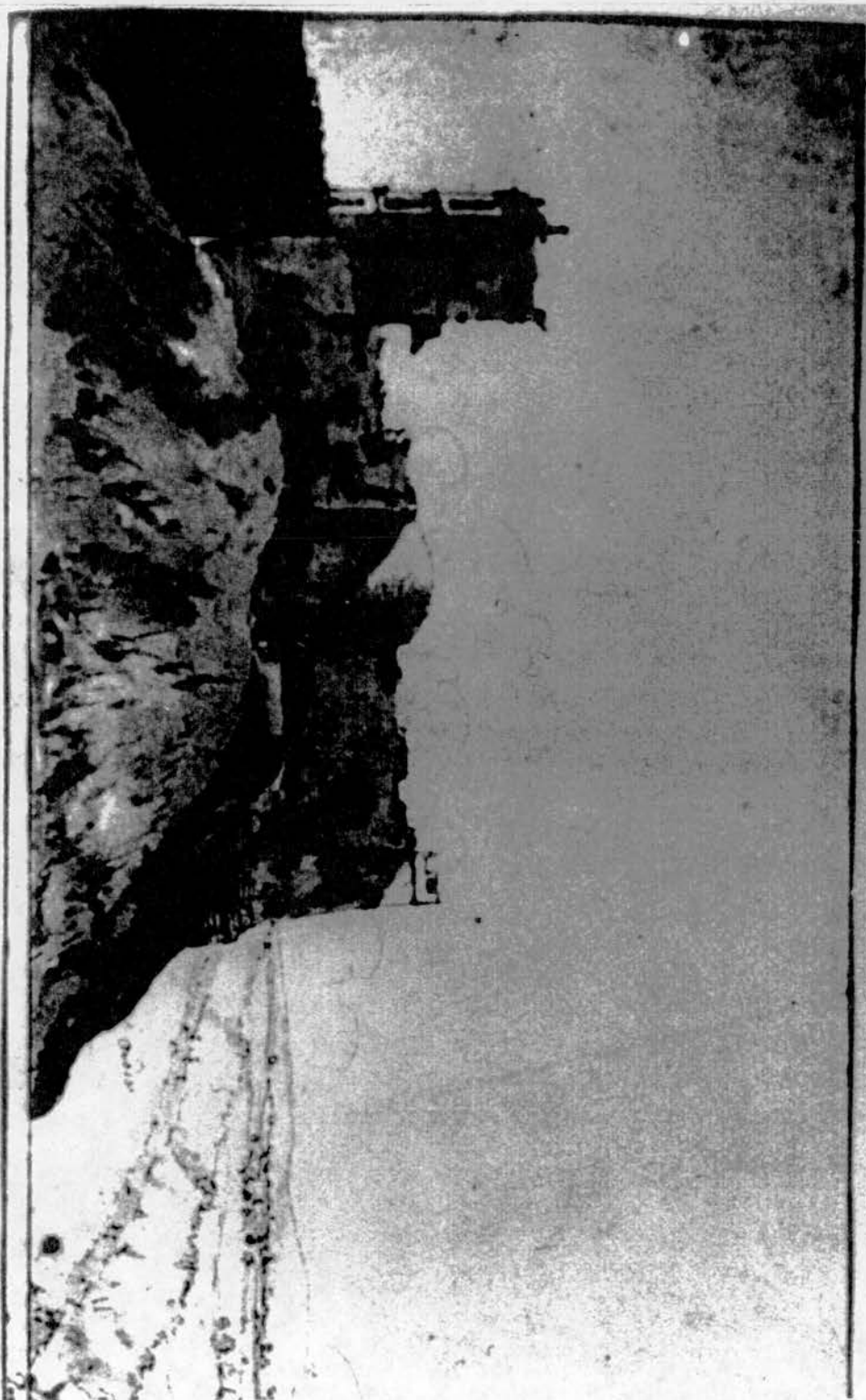
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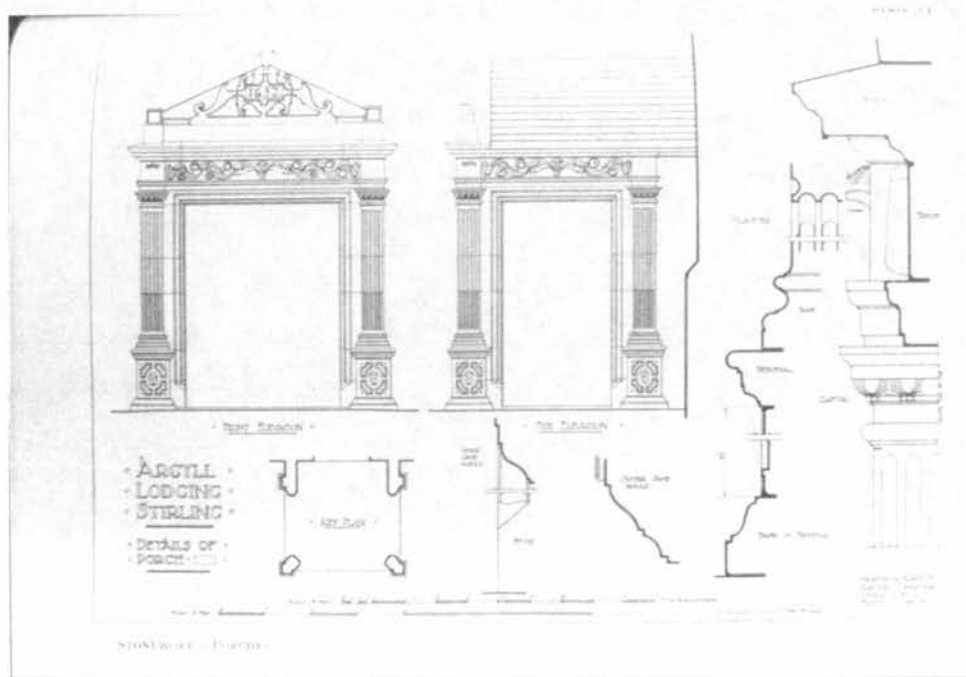
XSD England BERWICK - UPON - TWEED

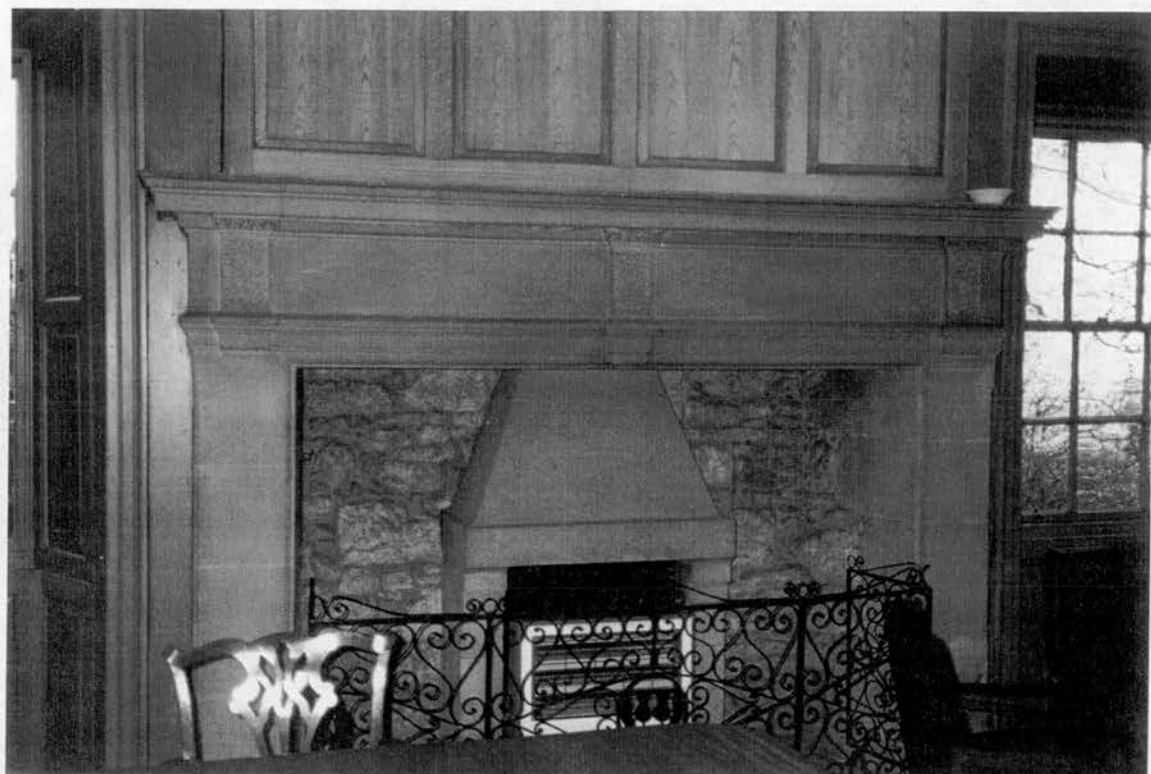
LORD DUNBAR'S HOUSE

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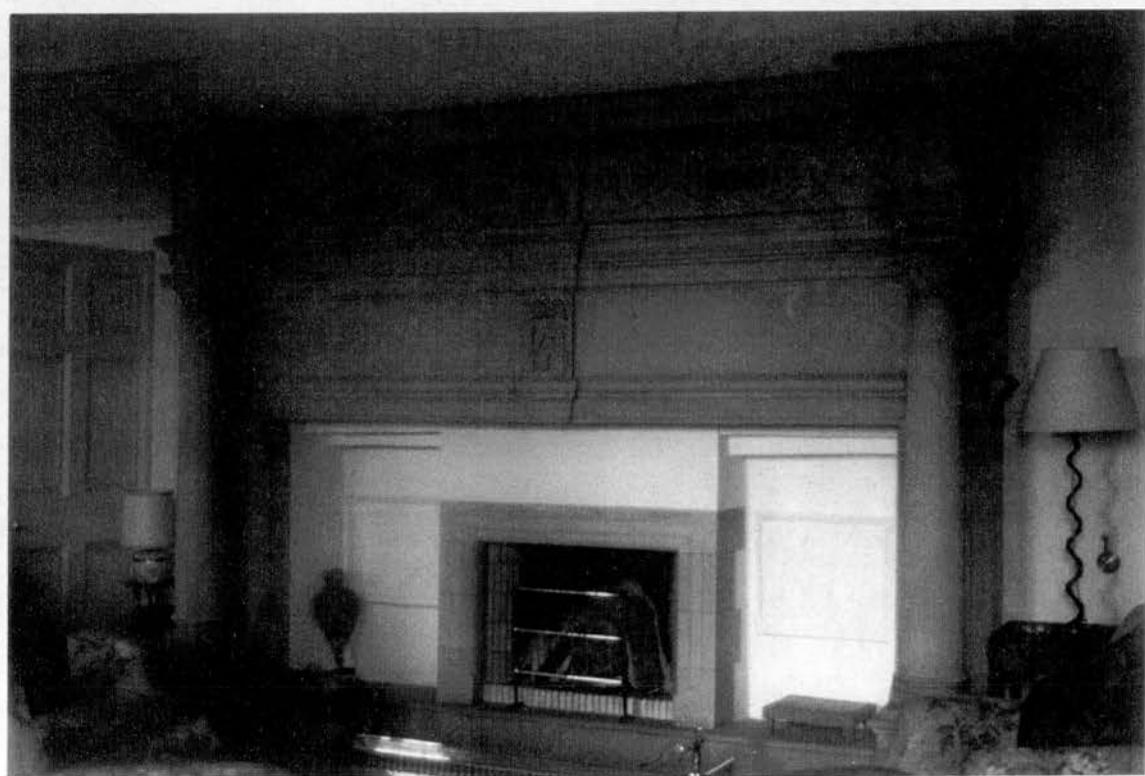
(RCAHMS)
BRITISH MUSEUM, DEPT. PRINTS & DRAWINGS
1850-2-23-809 (L.R. 31)



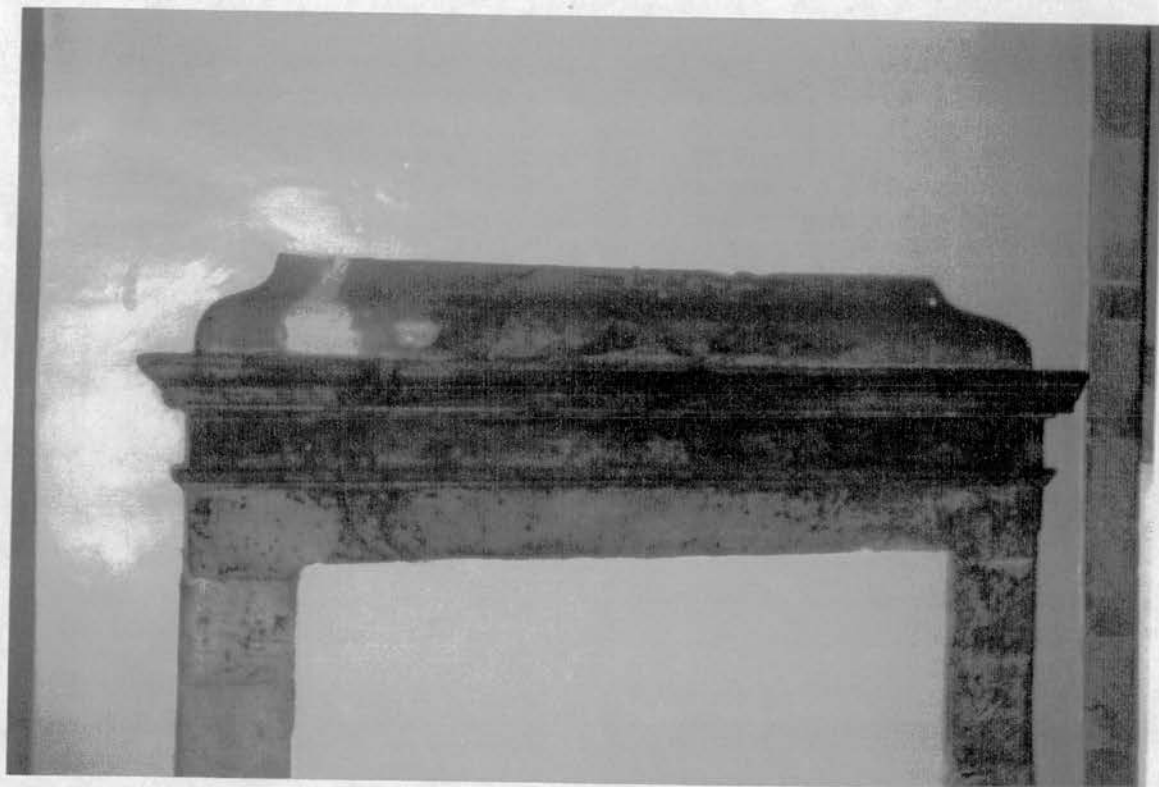




Baberton



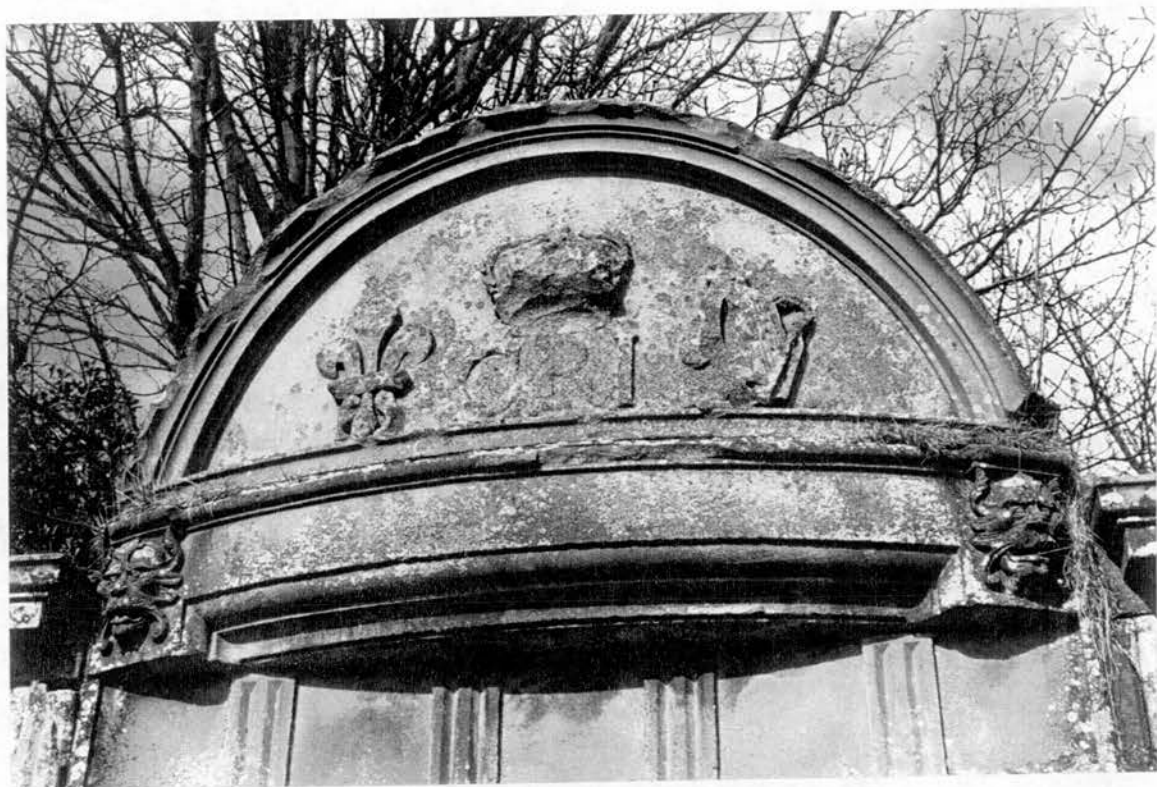
Winton



Argyll Lodging



Baberton



Parliament House : Fragment at Arncliffe.



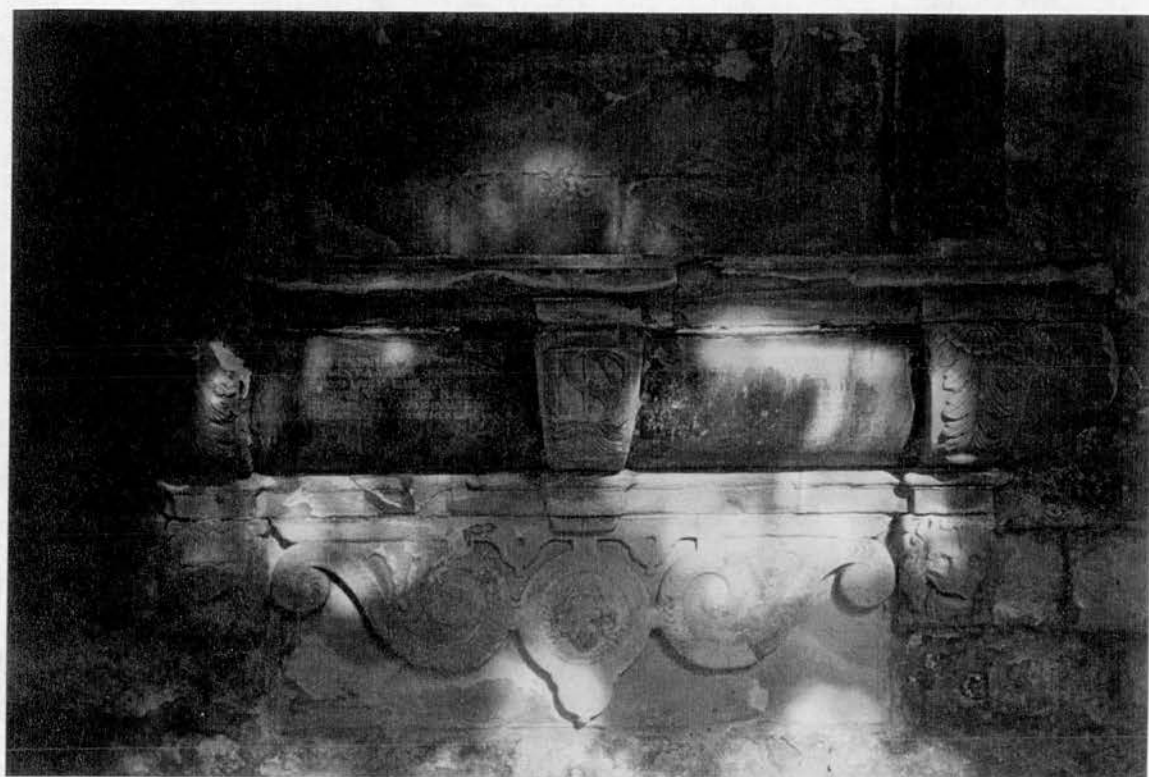
Grayfriars : Thomas
Bannatyne monument



Heniot's



Grayfriars: Thomas Bannatyne monument.



Seaton: Earl of Perth monument



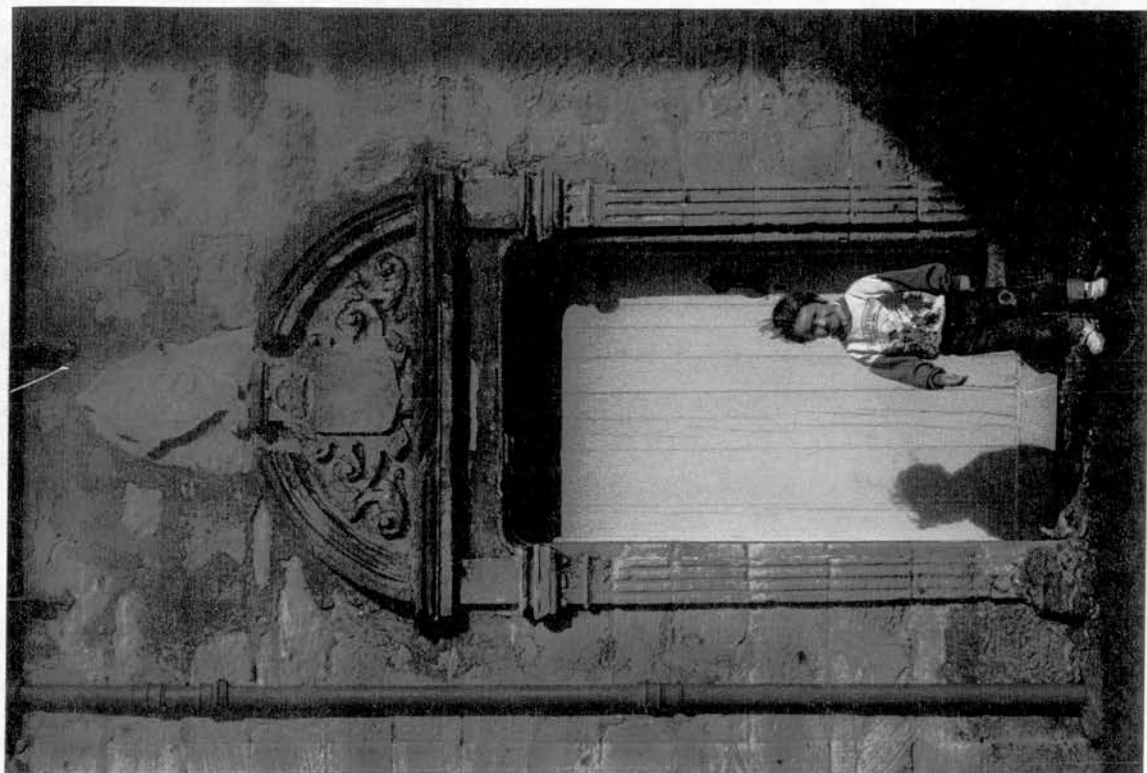
Henriots



Pencaitland : Forbes monument



Grayfriars : Foulis of Ravelston monument



Pencaitland

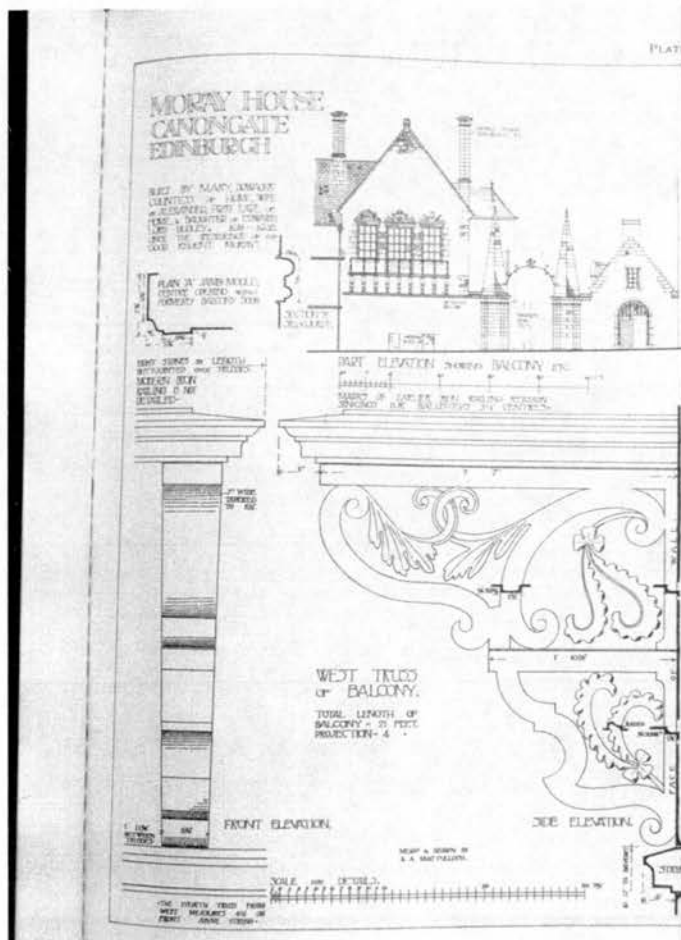
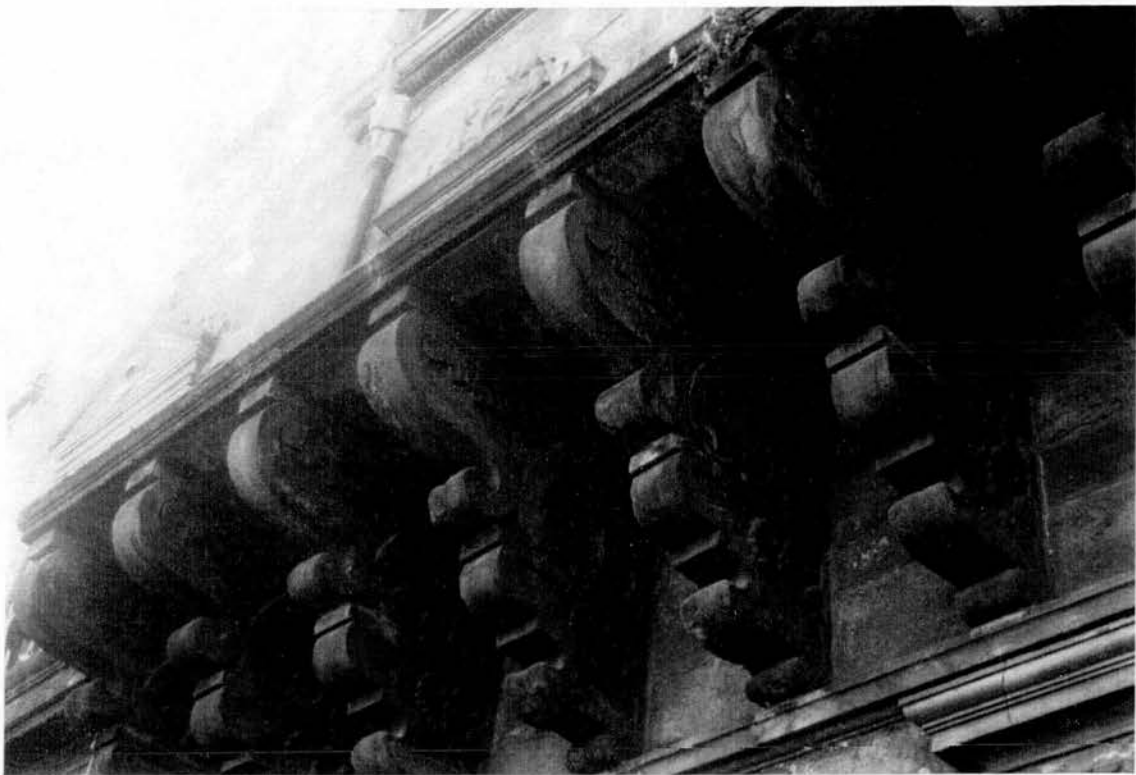


Stanghill

Moray House Garden Gate

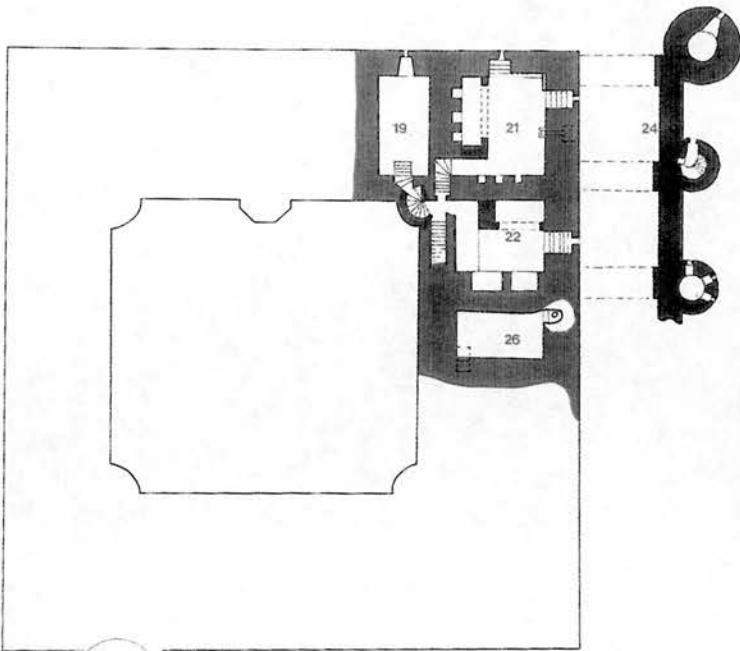


Winton



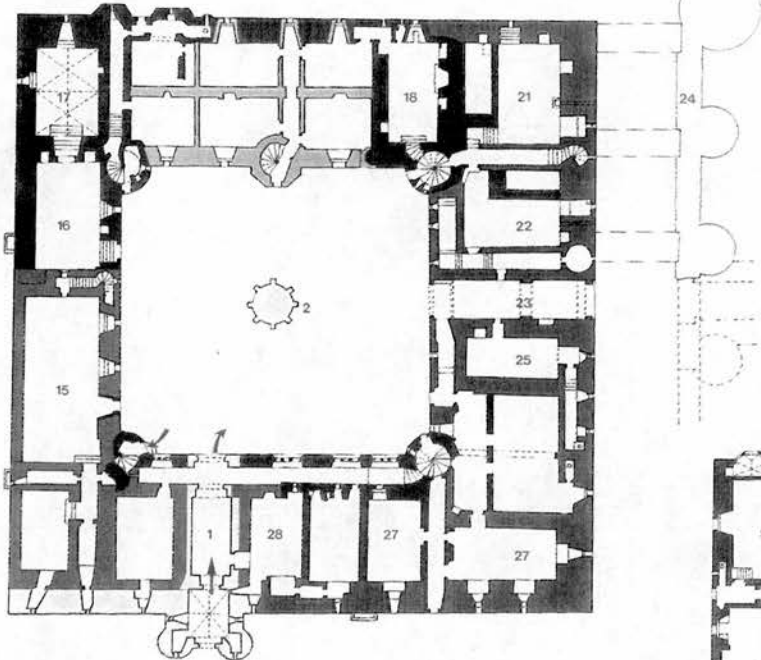
KEY TO BUILDING PERIODS

- James I 1424–37
- James III 1460–88
- James IV 1488–1513
- James V 1513–42
- James VI 1618–24



Basement level

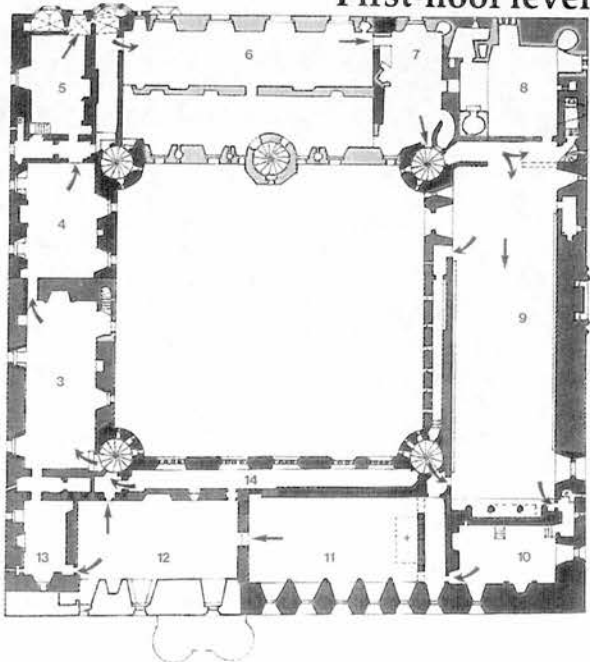
Ground level



MAIN TOUR
Number Key

- 1 South Gate
- 2 Fountain
- 3 King's hall
- 4 King's presence
- 5 Bed-chamber
- 6 Long gallery/dining hall
- 7 Pantry
- 8 Court kitchen
- 9 Great hall
- 10 Withdrawing rooms
- 11 Chapel royal
- 12 Ante-room
- 13 Corner-tower
- 14 Gallery/transe

First-floor level



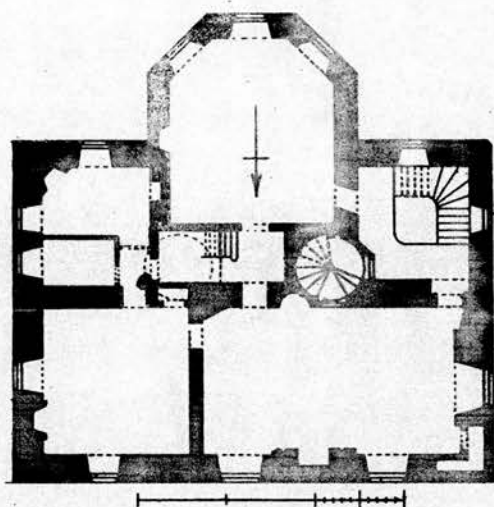


FIG. 654.—Baberton House. Plan of First Floor.



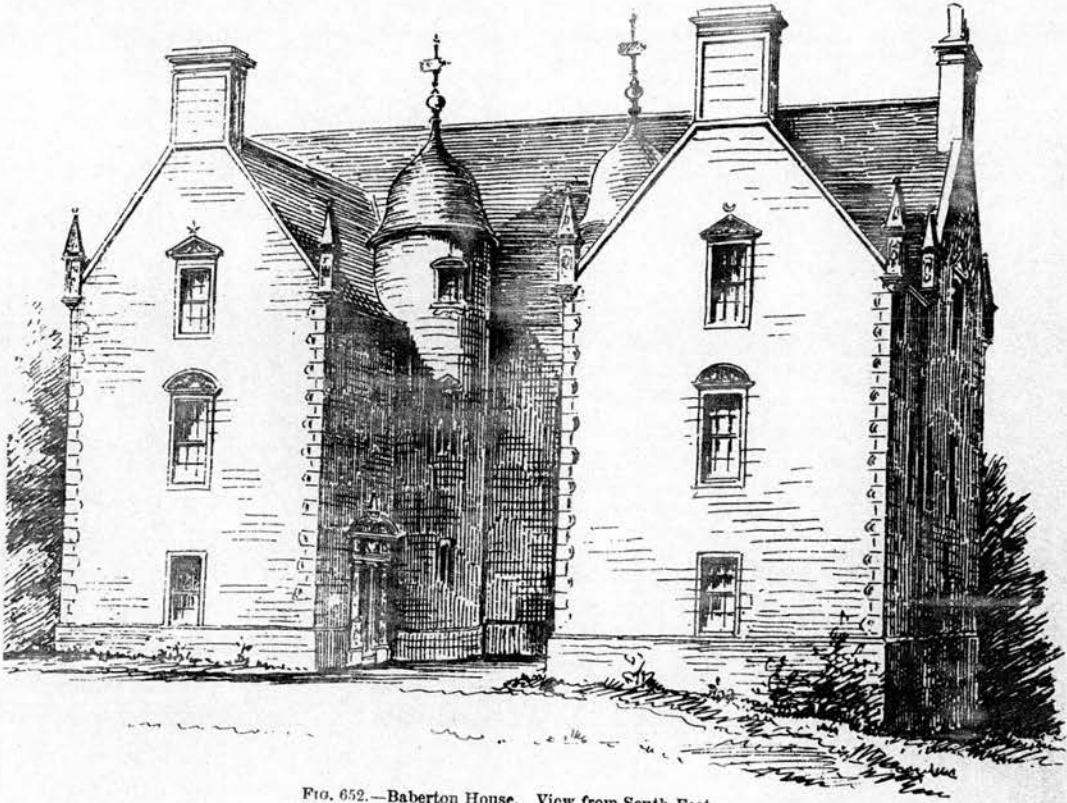


FIG. 652.—Baberton House. View from South-East.

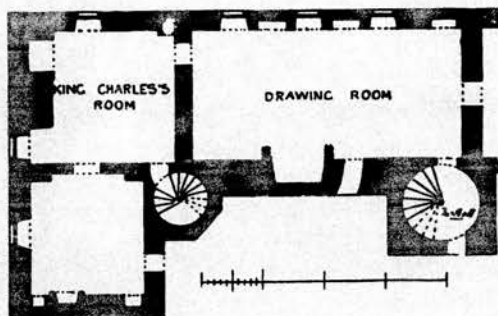


FIG. 946.—Wintoun House. Plan of First Floor.